

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

SPRING 1965

THE CRUEL CAMERA

*Violence and death
in news pictures*

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms,
to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to
help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible
service ...
... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the pro-
fession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Spring, 1965

SYMPOSIUM

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Edward R. Murrow

About Ed Murrow, nothing can be said more fitting than his own words of farewell to the British after World War II (as recalled by Fred W. Friendly): "You have lived a life instead of an apology."

On an FCC proposal

In the past, this magazine has been skeptical of broadcasters' complaints against the tyrannizing of the Federal Communications Commission. But in one current instance there are grounds for offering support to the broadcasters. This is in the proposal by the FCC to forbid networks to own or hold substantial interest in more than 50 per cent of television programs in specified desirable time periods. The proposal would also forbid network interest in syndication of half their programs.

The FCC's announced purpose is to open prime time to multiple sources of programming, instead of the more than 90 per cent now owned or controlled by networks. The new sources of programming envisioned by the FCC are independent producers, syndicates, and advertisers.

The analogy is inexact, but consider the same rule applied to a magazine. Suppose an editor were ordered to permit no more than 50 per cent of his pages to be staff-written or staff-originated. And suppose he were told that advertisers were one source, he would have to depend on to fill the remaining pages. The result would be a half-responsible editor.

Of course, the FCC is trying to offset a quasimonopoly of a kind that does not exist among magazines. And there are certainly many valid criticisms of the way the networks have handled their extensive programming powers. Even such a major participant as Leonard Goldenson, president of American Broadcasting-Paramount, has deplored the networks' imitativeness. The schedules announced for next year show that the tides of fad and emulation are still running strong.

But regeneration would not appear to lie in rules

that would make advertisers again into producers, or would make networks less able to change, should they be so inclined, under public and professional pressure.

In the past, the FCC has encouraged diversity by giving individual stations the right to refuse network programming and by assisting the development of ultra-high-frequency outlets. Will not such positive steps help diversity more in the long run than enfeebling the networks' control over their own product?

Now playing in Baltimore

The great touring novelty of the 1960's—the no-newspaper city—brushed past New York this spring and settled on April 20 in Baltimore, which had never had the pleasure. As in New York two years ago, union and management collaborated on the blackout. First the Newspaper Guild at the Baltimore *Sun* and *Evening Sun*, strengthened by a recent merger with the Washington Guild, struck for wages more in line with Washington and other big-city scales. Then the Hearst *News-American* was closed by its management, on ground that craft unions at the *Suns* had violated their contracts by observing Guild picket lines. It was a familiar story.

With each such blackout—Minneapolis, Cleveland, New York, Detroit—there have been elaborate proposals for remedies. Sad to say, nothing seems to have worked so well as a preventive as the experience of having had a prolonged strike before. One reason New York had no strike this spring was the unwillingness of many unions to tolerate another so soon.

To say that experience is the best preventive may seem a counsel of despair. Yet such appears to be the case as long as publishers and unions place their freedom to attack and to retaliate above the responsibility to publish. In the case of Baltimore, it is again clear that the newspaper business is still in the age of tooth and claw. A better day will not come until the newspaper blackout is recognized by both sides as a public disservice, and policies on both sides adjusted to make it unnecessary.

Justice harried and justice aided

Two items on trial coverage in this issue (see page 35) may seem to cast a cold light on journalism's record in court. In one case — the circus that was made of the Hauptmann trial — journalists' transgressions contributed to the later exclusion of cameras and microphones from the courtroom. In the other, the presence of television brought unanticipated problems both to the broadcaster and to officials.

It seems necessary and fair to point out that there is, and always has been, another side. Often, journalism has inspected the machinery of justice and prevented its misuse. This spring, the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors has been offering a whole catalog of such cases. To cite but one: The *New York World-Telegram & Sun's* leadership in the reporting that discredited first-degree murder charges against George Whitmore, accused of killing two career girls in Manhattan.

Darts and laurels

¶ Out: "Three-Star Extra" is leaving the National Broadcasting Company radio network on May 28 after eighteen years. Thus ends an anachronism — network news produced (or over-produced) by the Sun Oil Company and existing outside the discipline and best practices of the network news department.

¶ The *Herald Tribune's* "New York City in Crisis" campaign, begun January 25, is being maintained long beyond the usual duration of such efforts. Among its virtues have been its detailed reporting of the city's ailments and its willingness to include journalism's faults as a factor contributing to the city's troubles.

¶ Commendable: Coverage of hearings of the United States Civil Rights Commission in Jackson, Mississippi, by television station WJTV, which is under the same ownership as Jackson's newspapers. (The latter also gave the hearings ample coverage.)

¶ Experiment: A new weekly radio program on WCBS, New York, that not only discusses television but criticizes it — including the station's rich relation, the CBS television network.

¶ Two follow-up investigations of the atomic age: NBC's White Paper, on January 5, "The Decision to Drop the Bomb," which reconstructed in detail the debates that preceded the Hiroshima mission. And

Everett S. Allen's January series in *The Standard-Times* of New Bedford, Massachusetts (later distributed by The Associated Press) on "The Missile Gap Myth." Both used thorough interviews with secondary participants to uncover information.

¶ Station WISN-TV, Milwaukee, has dropped Walter Cronkite's CBS news for a rock 'n' roll program. Is the station owner some hardware merchant who never heard of news? Answer: It's the Hearst Corporation.

¶ Persistence: It took from December to March, but Horst Faas, Associated Press photographer in Viet Nam, and Peter Arnett, an AP reporter, were finally able to pin down the story that created a worldwide sensation — the use of non-lethal gas in the war against the Viet Cong.

¶ As noted on page 33, the *Christian Science Monitor* and *The Courier-Journal* of Louisville are abandoning the standard eight-column makeup that graces 99 per cent of American newspapers. Other virtues aside, the papers are to be commended for breaking away from a rigid pattern enforced by advertisers and reasserting editorial dominance.

¶ Step ahead: The abolition by the Supreme Court of the United States of "decision Monday." Reporters will no longer be faced with the possibility of a glut of important decisions to describe in haste, with a possibility of error or misplaced emphasis.

¶ Overdue: The *Chicago Daily News* television critic has named as the "toughest, most outspoken commentator on the Chicago television scene" the new man on WCIU, a UHF channel. He is a former newspaper editor, C. Sumner Stone. He has the secondary distinction of being the first Negro television news commentator in the country.

¶ Bobble: The choice by *The New York Times Book Review* of Robert Murphy to review a new book on American-French relations in World War II (*Hostile Allies*, by Milton Viorst). Mr. Murphy was himself a major participant in the events described. It was a little like asking George III to review the Declaration of Independence.

¶ Not the least of the losses when Earl J. Johnson retired as editor and vice-president of United Press International in April was the fact he will no longer be issuing the weekly two-page *U.P.I.*

PASSING COMMENT

Reporter. It could have been a promotional sheet; instead, he made it an open symposium and required reading for many editors.

¶ *Time* magazine is attempting a new departure in an old form with its weekly "Time Essay." To date, the efforts have been polished and thoughtful; in fact, they threaten to leave the *Time* news columns behind in depth and restraint.

Abuse of rights

The February, 1965, issue of *Pageant* magazine carried the following statement:

A Short Note About PAGEANT— and the Man Who Is Your Editor's Boss

In our November issue we reported on a poll pertaining to Congress. Given the same set of circumstances, in practically any other medium of communications throughout the world, the story that contained this poll never would have been published.

Here's why: Wisconsin's Sen. William Proxmire showed up in the poll in a less than favorable light—despite the fact that our publisher, Gerald Bartell, a Wisconsin resident who happened to be radio and TV director of the Hubert Humphrey campaign, was an outspoken and ardent supporter of Senator Proxmire.

The story hurt. As the election campaign rolled down toward the deadline, our poll became bigger and bigger news—big enough to make front page headlines, week after week, all over the state of Wisconsin. It may have hurt the chances of Senator Proxmire. It also definitely hurt the private and personal interests of Gerald Bartell. That's why I say, in practically any other publication, the story would not have been published.

It is a sad fact, but "freedom of the press" is a much-overworked phrase in our society. Unfortunately, freedom of the press usually exists only where it does not run counter to the interests of advertisers, or pressure groups, or management. Fortunately, PAGEANT isn't any other magazine. We may be flip at times, and irreverent, and impulsive, but there was never any question about the poll. It ran as reported.

Let me make a prediction. If the day ever comes when PAGEANT protects special or personal interests and denies to its writers and editors full freedom of the press, Gerald Bartell will no longer be the publisher. And I will no longer be the editor.

Abner Sundell

This ringing declaration is in sharp contrast to the muddy situation from which it arose. The poll that "ran as reported" was an article in the November,

1964, *Pageant* that purported to show rankings of members of Congress by fellow members and by Washington correspondents. *Pageant* fired the poll into the midst of the national campaign, thereby inspiring a Congressional investigation prompted by bruised candidates for re-election. The outcome of the investigation was inconclusive, but it certainly cast serious doubt on the validity of the poll.

The editor's statement printed above was designed to reply to the criticism. It does not serve. Neither the article itself, nor the subsequent statements by the publisher and editor, nor the Congressional investigation, nor an inquiry from the *Review* has brought to light any of the basic information that must stand behind research—the numbers and identity (not necessarily by name) of those who responded, the responses in detail to each question, and the manner in which the responses were evaluated. The magazine has chosen, rather than supply this information or admit that it does not exist, to plead that it must protect its sources and to picture itself as a defender of "freedom of the press." Other journalists may find it more difficult to assert these rights properly in the future because *Pageant* has chosen to abuse them.

Vote for Greeley

This being election year for the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, some campaigning may be in order for one candidate most people would assume had made the grade long since. Horace Greeley missed by the narrowest of margins in the Hall's first election, in 1900; he has not been close since.

It should be different in 1965, even though the 100-odd electors around the country must measure him against Winslow Homer, Jane Addams, Herman Melville, Andrew Carnegie, and other formidable competitors. It should be different because in this year of years for civil rights, the centennial year of the Thirteenth Amendment, the electors should be more mindful of Horace Greeley's greatest contribution. For this man was more than the moon-faced, bewhiskered editor who allegedly counselled young men to go west, more than the master of a style Godkin thought unsurpassed in American prose. He mounted and sustained, year after year, a blazing anti-slavery crusade at the peril of his life and reputation, and he did it in the newspaper he had made the most influential of his time.

Greeley, most historians agree, had as much to do with emancipation as Lincoln—and perhaps his election to an honored place would help inspire editors who have a like rôle to play today.

The cruel camera

What standards can be applied to the journalistic depiction of the violence and grief of mankind? Here is opinion from three branches of journalism

The question "Would you use this picture?" is as old as news photography, and the taboos surrounding the public showing of the violent or the grisly go back at least as far as the Greek theater, where murder was scrupulously committed offstage.

Although violence and physical hurt have been the lot of every age, only our age has had the capacity to transmit instant representations of such events. Moreover, the capacity to make the representation yet more graphic has advanced with camera techniques.

To obtain a cross-section of current attitudes on practices and standards in the use of such material, the *Review* asked six men from different branches of journalism to present their opinions on a selection of such pictures. The men were:

¶ Joseph Costa, executive editor, *National Press Photographer*, and a veteran news photographer. He prefaced his comments on the individual photos with the following observation: "The world changes and customs and practices change too. There was a time when most conscientious editors would have hesitated to run such pictures as these. But things change. I believe that the yardstick on which to base a determination is the importance and the social, economic, cultural, or educational significance of a story, and whether the picture helps to bring all the facts in their correct perspective."

¶ Vincent S. Jones, executive editor, The Gannett Newspapers, who conducted a symposium on use of photographs for the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1962. He listed as his views: "(1) A news photographer should cover pictorially anything he sees; it is up to the editor to decide what to print. (2) Excessive gore almost never is acceptable. (3) Private grief should be respected. (4) Distance—both in the picture itself and in the scene depicted—often affects my decision. (5) Each picture must be judged individually."

¶ Thomas Orr, picture editor for *Newsweek*, who commented: "Years ago, newspapers had many restrictions on the use of pictures. Some editors did not like to print pictures of snakes. Too much blood in a picture was reason to kill it. The case comes to mind of a gangster who was shot in a restaurant in New Jersey. Some New York papers cleaned up all the blood; others, part of it. Now, with the advent of the magazine photo essay, there is realistic presentation. Show the reader what happened. Do not—in the case of blood—clean up the photo with retouching. I believe that you should present events pictorially as they happened—not to shock the reader but to depict an event as if the reader were a witness."

¶ Bruce Palmer, news director, KWTV, Oklahoma City and president of the Radio-Television News Directors Association. He commented: "We in television are dually plagued by our desire to cover with realism any given news story as against what we are told and believe is the particular impact of the television picture. And we think we must also consider a certain number of children in our viewing audiences who might not be readers of the print media."

¶ Walter J. Pfister, Jr., a senior producer for American Broadcasting Company news programs, who confined his comments to the specific pictures.

¶ Wendell C. Phillipi, managing editor of *The Indianapolis News* and chairman of the newsphoto committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, who listed the following criteria: "(1) How newsworthy are the picture and the story? (2) Is it really offensive? We're not against making the reader mad at us for running an earthy picture. (3) Have we had a whole series of gory pictures or tragedies recently?"

The specific applications of these general considerations—and their variations from medium to medium—are presented in the following pages.

This AP cablephoto showed a Congolese rebel being stomped to death by a soldier. This use was in the New York Daily News, January 11, 1965.



Newspaper: 2 yes. Television: 1 no, 1 maybe. Magazine: yes. Photographer: yes. Total: 4 yes, 1 no, 1 maybe.

Jones (N)*: I would print this picture. No other medium can convey the brute savagery of this kind of warfare.

Phillippi (N): Real good picture — well worth using.

Palmer (TV): I would not use this. I think it is simply more than our mass television audience, with its large number of youngsters, could accept. Human brutality toward other humans has a nauseating quality. I question its use in any medium.

Costa (PH): Surely this picture helps the reader to a more accurate evaluation of the merits, pro and con, of our involvement in the affairs of the Congo and other foreign places not generally known to us.

Pfister (TV): This photo was not used because we had motion picture film available, although this picture would have been considered had we not had film. Pictures of atrocities on both sides in the Congo rebellion required careful editing of the film and I remember throwing out hundreds of feet of film that was just too shocking to use.

Orr (M): Here is violence and death in the Congo. A news picture of a news event. This is a photo that tries to satisfy the reader's demand to know what is going on in the Congo. But an editor must have his guard up with this type of photo for there is always the chance that it may be put out for propaganda.

Photograph by Priya Ramrakha of Dr. Paul Carlson's body was printed in Time magazine, December 4, 1964.



Newspaper: 1 yes, 1 no. Television: 2 yes. Magazine: yes. Photographer: yes. Total: 5 yes, 1 no.

Jones (N): I would not print this one. It adds nothing to the story.

Phillippi (N): This is a little offensive because of the tragedy involved. We would not run this one on the front page. However, we would use it for the picture page.

Palmer (TV): I think I would have used this picture. The clear view of death is unpleasant, but we cannot always permit that to interfere with reality. This is a man who became an international figure, no less in death than in life. In the nature of events in the Congo, he had been seen seldom while alive — at least in his last troubled days. I feel our viewers would have wanted to see him, even as pictured here.

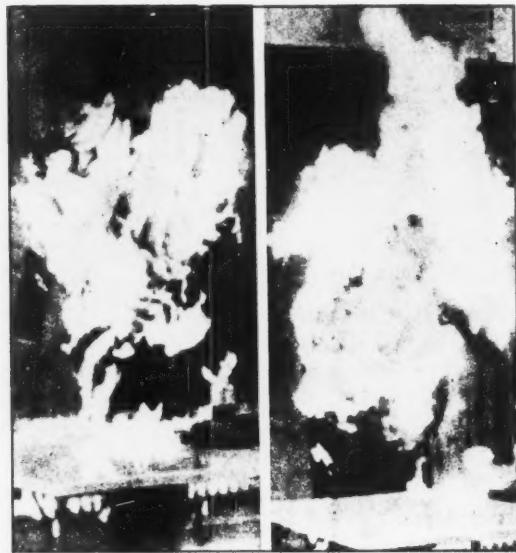
Costa (PH): Yes, I would have run this picture because it made a statement that pin-pointed the savagery of the Congo more eloquently than could have been accomplished by words alone. The emotional impact of seeing this great man, lying dead, his eyes sightless, could not have been conveyed in any other way.

Pfister (TV): This photo of Dr. Carlson's body would be considered for use on our show because of the importance of the story. As it was, we had motion picture film of the aftermath of the massacre that included shots of Dr. Carlson's body. By careful editing we were able to avoid the more gruesome aspects.

Orr (M): Dr. Carlson, pictured in the stillness of death, is a photo in direct contrast to the Malcolm X pictures. Here is a man who met violent death, yet this photo has a certain serenity to it. The blood on the pants, the folds of the blankets, the other booted feet give this photo the effect of a fine painting. Other than space and format demands, I can see no reason why this photo could not be used.

* N = newspaper. TV = television. M = magazine. PH = photographer.

UPI distributed this pair of shots of an Egyptian student immolating himself in Munich as a sign of his loyalty to Nasser. This use is from page one, Chicago Daily News, February 10, 1965.



Newspaper: 2 yes. Television: 1 yes, 1 no. Magazine: no. Photographer: yes. Total: 4 yes, 2 no.

Jones (N): I might print these pictures, or at least the one on the left. Criteria would include the general revulsion against picturing an act which most people would consider insane balanced against the vivid portrayal of what some would regard as a martyr's desperate protest.

Phillippi (N): Nothing offensive here — seems to be becoming a common thing. My attitude is that we shouldn't leave it to news magazines to capitalize on these pictures of horror and violence.

Palmer (TV): On television, I would use this as a still. I would not use a film of the event, I think. The inevitable writhing and anguish would offend too many sensibilities among our viewers.

Costa (PH): Yes. Otherwise how could we realize the intensity of the emotions and loyalties in the struggle between peoples and nations?

Pfister (TV): This rather unusual picture just doesn't have the significance to warrant its use. We used stills and even motion picture film of the immolations in South Viet Nam. There we felt the significance of the event and its political repercussions justified inclusion in the program. This student represented no mass movement. His act I consider more grisly than newsworthy.

Orr (M): Unfortunately this 'Grisly expression of his Loyalty' does not come off so well in photos. The words must tell the viewer that the man is setting himself afire. In no way does this match for utter grimness the pictures of monks burning themselves.

Photo of a girl scratched by an escaped leopard was distributed by AP and widely used. This one appeared in the Boston Record-American of January 20, 1965.



Newspaper: 2 yes. Television: 1 no, 1 maybe. Magazine: no. Photographer: no. Total: 2 yes, 3 no, 1 maybe.

Jones (N): A borderline case. The picture tells, as the story cannot, that a girl has been badly mauled, but that her features were spared. I would print it, but perhaps in a single-column size to lessen the impact.

Phillippi (N): Not offensive — in fact, rather unusual. Used by News.

Palmer (TV): I would have been more inclined to use newsfilm with movement in it, of this girl, than the still picture. I think the movement would have tended to reduce the viewer's reaction of revulsion to the nature of her wounds, at the same time reassuring them as to her escape and condition.

Costa (PH): No, I would not have run this picture. It serves no constructive purpose whatsoever.

Pfister (TV): We would never use this kind of a story . . . much less the picture. It falls into the category of "so who cares."

Orr (M): The leopard victim leaves me cold. It is not a good shot and does not tell any story. It is a typical AP wire opener or one that is moved during a quiet period. I would not use it in a news magazine and only in the first edition of a paper with the hope that a better shot would come along for the second edition.

UPI photograph by Eric Maristany, showing the assassinated Malcolm X borne toward hospital, was widely printed in newspapers of February 22. This use was in the New York Herald Tribune.



Newspaper: 1 yes, 1 maybe. Television: 2 maybe. Magazine: yes. Photographer: yes. Total: 3 yes, 3 maybe.

Jones (N): I might print the UPI picture because the wounds do not show. Generally speaking, I shy away from close-ups of corpses. I would not print the Life picture. It is too gory.

Phillippi (N): The Malcolm X picture was, of course, widely used everywhere and considered a great UPI scoop, which the AP missed. Many editors complained that AP was beaten severely on photos on this story.

We would think about four times before using the Life picture and probably would reject it if we had the picture of Malcolm X being carried out.

Palmer (TV): Here we must consider the dead man, the circumstances of his killing, his status as a news figure. In these instances, I think I would have been less inclined to use the still picture than newsfilm of the event and its aftermath. I think there are degrees of gruesomeness. While these pictures of Malcolm X are gruesome, they are related to a significant news activity area that continues to occupy our attention. The cameraman and film editor may recognize the need to reduce the horror by adroit camera work and editing of the more flagrant evidences of death.

Costa (PH): The same kind of reasoning as in the Congo pictures would lead to a decision to publish these pic-

Life used this exclusive shot of Malcolm X taken immediately after shooting in issue of March 5, 1965.



Newspaper: 2 no. Television: 2 maybe. Magazine: yes. Photographer: yes. Total: 2 yes, 2 no, 2 maybe.

tures also. They help to point out the intensity of the race struggle.

Pfister (TV): The UPI picture might have been considered but film was used instead. I think the length of the scene in which the stretcher went past the camera provided impact without the starkness of Malcolm's death mask available in a still picture.

If no other pictures were available of the shooting we might consider the Life picture but I would play it on a rear projection device and certainly not full screen. This would minimize the attention on the bullet wounds.

Orr (M): The pictures of Malcolm X represent two steps in journalism. The first one: the use of photos of a Negro. Thirty years ago a Negro who had been shot was not considered worthy of a picture. Second, these are two photos that deal with violent death. I feel that the shot of Malcolm X, with shirt open, is the best picture of that event. It is not upsetting to the reader. It tells a story of a violent man meeting a violent death. Malcolm X, on the stretcher, is the second best picture of that Sunday afternoon. We, at Newsweek, considered the stretcher shot but finally decided on a layout that called for a closeup, informal head shot. *Time* magazine used the stretcher shot. I feel that these pictures preach a lesson against hate.

This AP photograph of a family's grief was used in a symposium in the Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, June 1, 1962; caption said that "detailed identification seems superfluous."



Newspaper: 1 yes, 1 no. Television: 2 no. Magazine: no. Photographer: no. Total: 1 yes, 5 no.

Jones (N): I would not print this picture — any more than I would stand around and stare at such a scene. Some pictures of survivors may be newsworthy. This one doesn't give you a good idea of what they look like.

Phillippi (N): Not offensive — obviously points up a real story of tragedy and is a vital part of any news report.

Palmer (TV): Human anguish can never be shown decently. I would need to know more of the context in which this picture was taken, but my feeling is that it invades a very personal, emotional privacy that does not deserve exposure. This might have a horror impact on our man-woman-juvenile audience beyond its newsworthiness.

Costa (PH): It is my understanding that these people are registering grief because of a personal family tragedy. If such is the case, there is no justification for its publication, and is the sort of thing that leads to criticism of the press for "invasion of privacy." More thought should be given before unnecessary publication of pictures which might be offensive to good taste or an invasion of privacy.

Pfister (TV): Pictures of families in grief often violate not only the rights of privacy but of good taste and hardly advance the story. We just don't use this kind of a picture unless the circumstances are extremely unusual.

Orr (M): This family, torn with emotion, presents a photo which gives me pause to think. Was the photographer violating the privacy of individuals? Is not a person entitled to grieve privately? Does a publication have the right to use such a photo? I feel that there is more of an ethical problem in the publication of this photo than any other we have discussed. We must realize that the press has the right to publish news because the society it serves has the right to be informed. But the press also has a duty stemming from its right. It must with its news serve society for the greater good of all. Many times I feel this type of photo is not justified. It is all right to use it only for a safety campaign or if the group is part of a family in the news.

Picture of air-crash victims in Boston Harbor in 1960 was subject of major discussion in ASNE Bulletin at the time. It was used in The Boston Globe, which initiated the debate.



Newspaper: 2 no. Television: 2 no. Magazine: no. Photographer: no. Total: 6 no.

Jones (N): This one baffled me. I probably would not print it. BUT it is almost unique because so few air disasters leave anything recognizable. There is great pathos in these passengers still strapped to their seats looking as if they never knew what happened to them. For most of our newspapers, the answer would be no.

Phillippi (N): Pictures of airplane victims — not likely to be used because people fly in airplanes all the time and it is too gruesome. Only would be considered for a street edition, not home edition.

Palmer (TV): There are many personal shadings of responses to pictures. I find it especially repulsive here to show these victims of an aircraft crash confined to the seats in which they died. I doubt that I would have used this picture, but I suppose it meets the same criterion previously cited — that the story of fatal catastrophe is not complete without evidence of the victims. Here, to my mind, the evidence is over-graphic.

Costa (PH): Assuming the disaster was "routine" in the sense that it was due to unavoidable circumstances such as might be called "an act of God," I don't believe I would have published it. If, however, it was revealed in the story that there was something radically wrong with flight procedures, or takeoff and landing regulations, which had caused the crash, then the pictures would have been justified to help change the regulations.

Pfister (TV): We try to avoid uncovered bodies at disasters and this one where the faces are visible makes it more objectionable. We would look for other pictures not so stark that would tell the story.

Orr (M): This shot of crash victims closeup in death would tax the emotions of a publication's strongest reader. I do not feel that I could recommend this picture for use as a straight news shot. It is presented with impact — but I think that the grimness of the scene is just too much for the reader.

Photograph by staff cameraman appeared in The Seattle Times for January 26, 1965.

Woman Hurt in Crash Is Aided



Newspapers: 1 yes, 1 no. Television: 1 yes, 1 maybe. Magazine: yes. Photographer: Yes. Total: 4 yes, 1 no, 1 maybe.

Jones (N): Other than showing a victim's plight, that she is getting help, and that the photographer was on the job, this contributes little of news value. I would pass it.

Phillippi (N): Not offensive — points necessary lesson in traffic safety.

Palmer (TV): I would have no hesitancy about using a picture like this. Particularly when rescue is successful, the relief of viewers far overrides any distaste.

Costa (PH): Yes, I would have published this picture. If the publication of this type of picture causes just one driver to be more careful, as I am sure it does, then its publication is more than justified.

Pfister (TV): This is the kind of a picture that might be used by a local station but is by no means newsworthy enough for a network news show. The picture is not objectionable . . . just not newsworthy.

Orr (M): I do not think that crash pictures are too grim. Safety is the underlying theme of each shot. How else can an editor point up the need for caution? Here again it is the duty of an editor to give his readers all the news.

A baby in India dying of hunger in the arms of his sister was photographed by UN Food and Agricultural Organization. Photo was used in symposium on picture use by Rick Friedman in Editor & Publisher, November 14, 1964.



Newspaper: 1 yes, 1 maybe. Television: 1 yes, 1 maybe. Magazine: maybe. Photographer: yes. Total: 3 yes, 3 maybe.

Jones (N): This picture, with the proper story, would be useful, but I would prefer not to run it.

Phillippi (N): Not offensive — and tells a horrible story of hunger without much explanation needed in cut lines. We would not run this on the front page. We would consider it for the picture page.

Palmer (TV): As a still picture, by itself, this would have to have spot news value to be considered. As a portion of film, perhaps a documentary, I would not hesitate about it. It should have a context in the plight of these children and millions like them in India; or it should have the accompanying benefit of explanatory printed text.

Costa (PH): What could bring home as forcefully as this picture does, the ravages of hunger and starvation? Again it conveys information about foreign places in which we are involved.

Pfister (TV): Only under the right circumstances would we consider using this photo. It is not a pleasant picture but if India were suffering from an extreme famine this picture might be used to bring home the tragedy.

Orr (M): This picture I find very repulsive. I would not use it as a hard news story. I would use it for a UNICEF publication or a feature on hunger in India.

Surliest crew in Washington

The two dozen correspondents who spend their working lives in the Pentagon trust no one, including each other. Here is how they practice their specialties: baiting the brass, outflanking the information officers, and nursing suspicions.

By JULES WITCOVER

Once or twice a year, as in the escalation of the war in Viet Nam, crisis obliges Washington's press corps at large to send out a patrol to the Pentagon. A hundred or so of the 1,400 accredited newspaper, magazine, and radio-television reporters listed in the latest *Congressional Directory* dutifully trek across the Potomac for one of the rare formal press conferences of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

When it's over, they flee again to their downtown offices and beats or to Capitol Hill, where newsgathering is less regimented and where the atmosphere is more sociable. Only another military crisis can persuade most of them to return.

This attitude cannot be explained merely by the Pentagon's relative remoteness, across the Potomac as it is from the center of Washington political and social life. That is part of it, of course. One sometimes does feel banished to bureaucracy's Siberia as he trudges the 17½ miles of dimly lit corridors in the world's largest office building. But a more significant

fact is the awe in which so many Washington newsmen hold the Pentagon's sheer physical immensity (27,000 employees occupying three times the floor space of the Empire State Building), its technical complexity, and the impediments that exist to getting a story that has real flesh on it.

Not all Washington correspondents will confess to this feeling of awe. Some who seldom set foot in the Pentagon and are accustomed to producing a story by rubbing two Congressmen together prefer to let themselves believe newsgathering is no harder at the Department of Defense than it is on Capitol Hill. They have been known to suggest that if only the kind of relentless digging they do on their own beats were applied against civilian and military sources at the Pentagon, the nickname "Puzzle Palace" would fade away.

Most Washington newsmen, however, are both sympathetic and respectful toward the Pentagon beat men. They have compassion for colleagues who are plucked from the familiar political routine and dropped into a beat requiring a highly specialized knowledge of politics, economics, strategy, and "hardware." They know that it is a beat where news sources must be built within — and even against — a system that is bigger, more intricate, and often more hostile

Jules Witcover, national affairs correspondent for the Newhouse National News Service, covers the Pentagon as part of his beat.

than any other in Washington. (Also, mastery of another language — Pentagonese — is vital. You don't have a spare pencil in the Pentagon press room; you have a "two-pencil capability.")

Few of the 1,400 accredited Washington correspondents ever are likely to cover the Pentagon. Through most of last year, only twenty-nine — 2 per cent of all reporters accredited to the Congressional Press Galleries — worked at the Defense Department on a fulltime or near-fulltime basis. Of these, four were from the wire services (Elton Fay and Fred Hoffman of The Associated Press and Darrell Garwood and Charles Corddry of United Press International), two from the national news magazines (Lloyd Norman of *Newsweek* and John Mulliken of *Time*), twelve from daily newspapers, and eleven from the trade press. Only one major daily, the Baltimore *Sun*, kept two men (Mark S. Watson and Albert Sehlstedt) in the press room. Television, which blankets every other major beat in Washington, has not a single day-in, day-out beat man at the Pentagon. The most familiar television face around the building is that of the National Broadcasting Company's Peter Hackes, who doubles on the national space beat.

The Pentagon's official list of beat reporters actually bears sixty-three names. But two thirds of these either cover the department on a regular but less-than-daily basis or are assigned to protect their bureaus only on major news developments. The hard core is the two dozen or so fulltimers who endure weeks of boredom between crises by playing hide-and-seek with the Pentagon's mighty.

By and large, the regulars see themselves as a squad of guerilla fighters in a journalistic army of desk jockeys. They consider their beat to be tougher and more complex than any other, and they rate the department news policies under which they must function much more restrictive than those anywhere else in Washington. The Pentagon regulars bitterly resent the occasional suggestion that they are cry-babies. In their view, fighting — and criticizing — these restrictive policies is a continuing and major part of covering the beat.

The regulars display a skepticism toward the men and the department they cover that seldom is approached on other beats, either in its intensity or its indiscriminate application. Hardly a Defense Department policy is made in which some Pentagon regulars do not see a dark motive or trickery. Often this skepticism descends to an unfair cynicism. But it is a cynicism bred by a history of misinformation, deception, and interference by the Pentagon public-opinion apparatus in both Democratic and Republican administrations. Even when the apparatus appears to be

going straight for long periods, the reporters are reluctant to lower their guard.

Frustration adds to their cynicism. A mammoth department network of buffers against newsmen is reinforced from year to year. It included in fiscal 1963 an army of 190 public information officers (the Pentagon press corps is forever in Joseph Alsop's debt for baptizing them "bun-faced minions") and seventy-one clerical employees. Total salary for the 261 staff members exceeded \$2,000,000. (The figures are substantially the same today.) Other buffers include a parade of news-suppressing policies and practices and, more recently, the use of investigators to seek out — and to dry up — the sources of troublesome news stories. A new investigative arm, established in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, has taken to tracking down the sources of at least one veteran reporter's copy — to the point of investigating and interrogating the reporter himself.

The public information officers include thirty-eight in the office of Arthur Sylvester, the embattled Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. In addition, each service has its own information apparatus. Also, important sub-agencies, civilian and military, have one or more public information officers. Fiscal 1963 records, the latest available, showed thirty-two Pentagon public information officers in the Army, thirty-three in the Navy, thirty-nine in the Air Force, and seventeen in the Marine Corps.

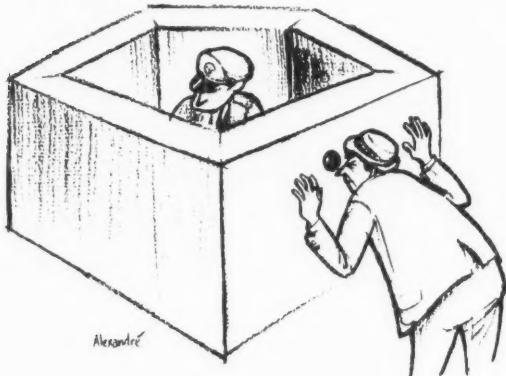
Their job, when all the trimmings are cut away, is to get between the reporter and the man who knows the answers — to protect the bureaucracy. A good PIO either knows the answers himself or he knows where to get them, and he can meet the reporter's requests for facts. Even veteran Pentagon newsmen who have many dependable sources must rely from time to time on the PIO. The PIOs can be helpful and some nearly always are. But their overriding responsibility is to the bureaucracy, not the press, and the interests of the two clash often.

A reporter newly assigned to the Pentagon soon learns the ground rules. One basic rule is to ask the question you want answered. PIOs are under a standing order to answer what is asked, not what is not asked. For example, if a reporter inquires of a PIO: "Will the sun rise tomorrow at 6:07 a.m.?" The answer will be: "No." He must ask: "Will the sun rise tomorrow at 6:07 a.m.? If not, at what time will it rise?" Only then will he be told by a well-trained PIO: "No, it will not rise at 6:07 a.m. It will rise at 6:08 a.m."

Of the restrictive regulations, the October 27, 1962, "big brother" memorandum requiring reporting or monitoring of newsmen's Pentagon interviews is the

best-known, but not the most troublesome. It is honored in the breach. A check of total reports from news sources to Sylvester from May 8, 1964, to February 12, 1965, shows only 1,415 were made by sources in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and in the individual services. These figures, if they represented all the interviews conducted by the Pentagon regulars, would average out to about 1.6 a week for each man. No Pentagon reporter could be that lazy and keep his job. When the forty-one other reporters on the Pentagon's own list of correspondents are thrown in, the average drops to less than one interview a week by each man. Nor do the calculations take into consideration all the reporters not on the Pentagon's beat list who talk to Defense Department sources.

Much more troublesome to the reporters are the indiscriminate practices of hiding behind national security where no such necessity is apparent; the



channeling of news queries into oblivion; the growing temptation to "orchestrate" the news — play this up, play that down, grind out trivia by the mile and clam up when anything really important happens.

In this regard, the chief villain — for public consumption, anyway — is Sylvester. But he is more needed than despised, and if the truth were known he probably has been to bat more often for the Pentagon regulars behind the scenes than most of their own editors. Most of the regulars are aware of this, but some are reluctant to concede it. As a result, Sylvester and the reporters have tangled with regularity, though in recent months there has been an armistice, or at least a moratorium.

Much of the old hostility between Sylvester and the press goes back to Sylvester's early days at the Pentagon, in 1961. The regulars were told in a backgrounder with McNamara that the controversial missile gap of the 1960 presidential campaign was not going to materialize after all. Stories from this

session created the first big news flap of the Kennedy administration. Charges of bad reporting and bad faith got the Sylvester-press corps relationship off to a lively start.

Sylvester's handling of information on the Cuban missile crisis, the tight restrictions on travel to the quarantine zone and to Guantanamo Naval Base, and his statement about the government's "right to lie" in a nuclear crisis, all fed the conflict. But since then, the absence of a major military crisis and Sylvester's efforts in behalf of individual reporters have improved the climate.

Sylvester's troubles are magnified by the fact the Pentagon regulars are an extremely cocky bunch of individualists. The deans, Watson, 77 years old, and Fay, 63, are exceptions. Highly esteemed as military writers, Watson and Fay also are extremely mild-mannered — a distinct contrast to their aggressive juniors.

(A year or so ago, a junior officer came into the press room and asked Watson, a Pulitzer Prize winner, for a letter of recommendation to one of the Army war colleges. Watson modestly questioned the value of such a letter but readily agreed to write it. The officer knew the influence of the Mark Watson byline. So does Sylvester. His 1962 "monitoring" memo might have weathered the ensuing storm much more easily if Watson hadn't called it, in print, reminiscent of "Gestapo" techniques. Coming from him, the press corps' complaints took on considerably greater substance.)

By and large, Watson and Fay leave to the younger, more spirited regulars the group's day-in, day-out self-appointed task — an irreverent scrutiny of the policies, programs, and personal foibles of McNamara, the service secretaries, and the brass. At this level, there is no one leader, but the most outspoken kibitzers of the Establishment include Dan Henkin, editor of the *Journal of the Armed Forces* and a fixture on the military beat since before there was a Pentagon, Richard Fryklund of the *Washington Evening Star*, Norman of *Newsweek*, Corddry of UPI, Jack Raymond of *The New York Times*, and Don Zylstra of *Missiles and Rockets* magazine.

As Washington beats go, tenure at the Pentagon tends to be long. Watson, Fay, Henkin, Norman, Jack Norris of *The Washington Post*, and Ray Cromley of the NEA syndicate have been there since the building opened in 1943 or since shortly after World War II. Other long-timers include Garwood, 15 years; Corddry, 11 years; Raymond, 8 years; Fryklund and Zylstra, 5 years; Hofzman, 4 years. The newer recruits include Schlstedt, Bill Beecher of *The Wall Street Journal*, Bill Anderson of the *Chicago*

Tribune, Mulliken, Ted Sell of the *Los Angeles Times*, and Les Bell of the Copley Newspapers.

In their aggressive posture, the Pentagon regulars may create the impression of unity. Nothing could be farther from the truth. If McNamara or Sylvester does them wrong, they howl. But the howls invariably are solos. Attempts in the past to have the Pentagon newsmen speak with one voice have been catastrophic.

When the Cuban missile crisis precipitated charges of news management, White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger called a conference of reporters and high-ranking government information officers. Invitations went to the White House Correspondents Association and the State Department Correspondents Association. But none could be sent to the Defense Department Correspondents Association. There wasn't any.

The Pentagon regulars, the chief grippers about news policies during and after the missile crisis, nevertheless decided that they had better send a representative. Mark Watson was the logical choice. A note was posted in the press room suggesting formation of a group for him to represent. A few days later the reporters held a little cell meeting.

Norman, acting out of a basic trust in his fellowman, stood and informed the group of what he thought they already had agreed on — Watson's selection. But Norman hardly had a chance to open

his mouth when two or three colleagues were half-way down his throat. Charges of dictatorship, cabals, plots to undermine the freedom and individuality of Pentagon reporters and a number of other harangues filled the air. All were prefaced with pledges of personal fealty to Watson. But for the next half hour charges and counter-charges flew so wildly that it seemed like a meeting of the old Joint Chiefs.

A Pentagon Correspondents Association? Out of the question, a number of the staunchest individualists cried. Well, then, how about a temporary association? An *ad hoc* association? A committee? A working group? Finally, Watson was given an informal, temporary, one-shot-only assignment to represent Pentagon reporters (but not any organization) at the Salinger conference. After all that, the White House-State-Defense session never came off, to the chagrin of practically nobody at the Pentagon. The attitude there always has been that if you have a gripe, you take it to the chaplain yourself.

There is one occasion when collective griping is in order. That is the noon briefing, initiated by Sylvester more than three years ago. Originally conceived to convey information and to provide a daily forum for substantive questions from the press, it soon developed into a verbal fencing match. Trying to get under Sylvester's skin became a favorite pastime and the sessions degenerated into such mutually unprod-

A Pentagon wrestling match

At a noon briefing of Pentagon reporters early in 1964, Assistant Secretary Arthur Sylvester engaged in the following dialogue, related to the Bobby Baker case:

REPORTER: "Is Mr. McNamara investigating payments made by North American Aviation to Fred B. Black, a Washington representative of the company? These payments supposedly charged off against defense contracts?"

SYLVESTER: Your question is a completely iffy question. I'm not aware (1) of any such payments or (2) they were charged off or what. So I don't know of any investigation being made. This is a matter before the committee, the Senate Committee. We're not getting into their business.

ANOTHER REPORTER (a few minutes later): On Fred Black, you said you did not know of any investigation, is that right, that the secretary may be —

SYLVESTER: If I may respond to that without in any way reflecting on the man who asked the question, the question as it came to me was

predicated on two ifs and another but, neither of which I'm aware of. One, that there's some payments had been made and that there supposedly, was a word used, charged to something or somebody. I really haven't got a question to refer to.

SECOND REPORTER: Well, I . . .

SYLVESTER: And on the basis of that question as phrased that way I said I was unaware of any investigation.

THIRD REPORTER: Well, how would the question have to be phrased so that you would be aware of the investigation?

SYLVESTER: Well, I'm sure you're not going to ask me to ask myself?

THIRD REPORTER: Well, we can try that way. I mean, we're not doing very well the other way.

A FOURTH REPORTER (still later): Would you be glad to look into that one?

SYLVESTER: No, I wouldn't be *glad* to, but I'd . . .

FOURTH REPORTER: There's now two kinds of investigation by you — those that you're glad to look into and those that you're not.

SYLVESTER: I always look into them whether I'm glad or not.

uctive affairs that now they are held infrequently.

The briefings at the outset were conducted on a background basis, with attribution only to "a Defense Department spokesman." Under this ground rule, Sylvester allowed himself a number of imprudent observations that found their way into print and were quickly laid on his doorstep. During the running battle between the McNamara regime and Senator John McClellan's investigating subcommittee over the TFX warplane contract award in 1963, the "spokesman" questioned the objectivity of the committee. In one instance, he said he thought it unlikely the committee could make a "judicial rendering" on the issue. A reporter wrote it, and the committee demanded and got an apology from Sylvester. Soon thereafter, Sylvester began speaking on the record at the briefings, except when he specified otherwise. He became more prudent, but the needling that often drove him to verbal excesses continued.

This kind of exchange, and a steady stream of critical stories about other aspects of McNamara's regime, have led some Washington newsmen to suggest that the Pentagon regulars have thrown in with the services against the civilian administration. The implication is that each service has one or two or more of the regulars in its pocket, and that these newsmen over the years have become no more than mouthpieces for a particular friendly service. It is unquestionably true that the services' own public information sub-bureaucracies woo reporters from the largest news organizations. It is true also that more of the older reporters at the Pentagon have excellent pipelines into the services, and often better pipelines to one than to the others. But allegations of any permanent fix are unjust and uninformed.

Because high-level military men keep popping in and out of the Pentagon throughout their careers, and because most Pentagon reporters have toured military bases all over the world, it is natural over the years that the newsmen have built some close and profitable sources. (For example, older regulars remember four-star General William C. Westmoreland, now the top commander of U.S. forces in Viet Nam, when he was a colonel in the Pentagon.) And because the services are in constant competition for dollars and programs, it also is natural that they are bottomless pools of discontent into which any enterprising newsmen is going to cast his line. For the same reason, the smart Pentagon reporter has his lines out to the defense industry as well.

Pentagon newsmen of course receive and use leaks from the services, from Pentagon civilians, and from the defense industry. Under restrictions that impede more orthodox methods, the leak remains one of the

available ways to pry the lid off a controversy. A built-in protection for the reporter is the fact each of the three main military services usually has a parochial viewpoint, no matter what inroads into inter-service rivalry have been made in recent years. With this kind of buyer's market, no sensible reporter is going to jump into bed with any single service — not for any permanent liaison, at any rate.

Far from being service apologists, most Pentagon regulars probably would side with McNamara on the need to subordinate parochial service interests, and most would give him high marks in putting a strong civilian stamp on Pentagon administration. It is not the secretary's performance that drives them to criticism so much as it is his personality. They see McNamara as smugly self-confident (which ironically is a trait the Pentagon press group itself has been accused of having in ample supply). His remoteness, after years of much more cordial relationships with predecessors like Robert Lovett, Charles E. Wilson, and Thomas S. Gates, gets under the press corps' skin. He grants at least 100 individual interviews and small background sessions a year, but he doesn't confide in or consult the reporters — any more than he confides in Congressmen.

Even when McNamara holds one of his rare press conferences — he has had only 29 formal sessions at the Pentagon in more than four years — he too frequently circumscribes the areas and the extent of questioning and comes prepared to bowl the reporters over with facts and figures, as if he were testifying before a congressional committee. Few of the Pentagon regulars quarrel with the wisdom and effectiveness of the base closedown and other economy programs pushed energetically by McNamara. But they prefer give-and-take to the self-serving lecture they feel McNamara nearly always serves.

Somewhat to their surprise, newsmen who have been exposed to Secretary McNamara in the give-and-take of informal, off-duty discussion often find him to be both engaging and stimulating. If McNamara were to address himself to this "personality gap" with the same zeal with which he dispatched the myth of the missile gap when he first took command, he might well tame this surly crew.

But for the present at least, the Pentagon regulars are their own men, complete with chips on shoulders. In the city of the easy handout and the appreciated puff, their independence and their integrity compare favorably with that of reporters on other Washington beats. They are neither more ethical nor less responsible — just a good deal more ornery. They play in a league where it pays to examine the ball after each pitch, and they've acquired the habit.

The gentle suppression

Washington's newspapers have adopted a policy of muffling the bizarre events staged by American Nazis. Does such a quarantine serve the public good?

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

A dramatist looking for a tableau entitled "Dynamic Democracy in Action" might have chosen the sidewalk in front of the White House during the Selma incidents. At the east end of the block were hundreds of civil-rights picketers with signs urging protection of Negroes in Alabama. At the west end was a lone, uniformed storm trooper of the American Nazi Party carrying a placard with the legend, "Who Needs Niggers?", protected by two large, serene Negro policemen.

The Nazis, led by George Lincoln Rockwell, have become a standard irritant in Washington. Rockwell is a shrewd manipulator of events to dramatize his cause. For years his troopers have been picketing the White House with shocking signs, peddling Hitlerian propaganda, haranguing tourists with boasts to build bigger and better gas chambers to kill Jews, and breaking up public meetings. Nazis have run onto the stage of the National Theater. They have broken into convention meetings in downtown hotels. They disrupted a large gathering at American University by grabbing the stage microphone to yell, "Seig Heil" and pushing the speaker off the platform while Nazis spotted throughout the audience began fist fights. They have interfered with sessions of the United States Congress, sometimes unfurling banners and shouting Nazi slogans from the gallery of the House and Senate, once grabbing the microphone during a Congressional hearing, and once running onto the floor of the House of Representatives dressed in blackface.

Individual Nazis have had less public dealings with the police. One group handcuffed young Jewish boys to headquarters furniture. Others, to the dismay of their führer, seem unable to understand the statutory rape law.

All in all, the Nazis qualify as news — at the most as a gang promoting savagery and paranoia on the national scene, and at the least as civic pests. But the three Washington papers, in varying degrees, apply a special test for hard news about Nazi activities. Theirs is not an absolute quarantine; all three papers have run numerous accounts of Nazi episodes and have printed background pieces. Yet the Nazis get special handling, with the conscious objective of denying the Nazis publicity and minimizing their impact. Sometimes this means not printing news of an event: New York papers and the wire services have carried Washington items about the Nazis that were not carried in the Washington papers. Or it means omitting parts of the news considered useful to the Nazis in spreading their message: Both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, for example, carried stories in October, 1960, of Nazi picketing at the Demo-

cratic National Committee headquarters in the capital, but the *Post* omitted what the Nazi placards read while the *Times* printed them ("Kikes for Kennedy"). When a Nazi jumped on the stage of the National Theater, the *Washington Daily News* did not report it and the *Post* did, but buried it in the last two paragraphs of a story on the normal proceedings in the theater. There is little doubt that Washington editors try to run news of the Nazis as little as possible and when they do to minimize any advantage to the Nazis and to produce the most "healthy" reaction among readers.

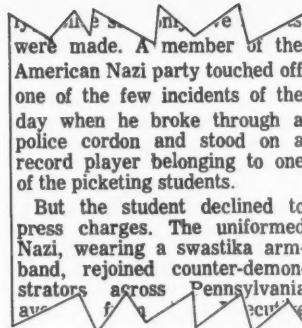
These Washington editors are among the most sophisticated in the business, and they have one of the most discerning newspaper audiences in the country. They give individual attention to each story about the Nazis as it occurs. It is a quarantine under the best possible conditions of a subject odious to most Americans. But the quarantine is still pernicious.

News quarantines — exclusion of subjects from news columns because they may produce harmful effects — are difficult to discuss clearly. They fall under the editorial discretion that must be the right of every editor. They are considered a sign of one of the enlightened developments in American journalism, the idea of social responsibility in the press. At the same time, they are often indistinguishable from less attractive practices, like special treatment of sacred cows or suppressions for the benefit of friends of the paper. But even when quarantines are altruistically imposed they interfere with the democratic process and are demoralizing to the discipline of news judgment.

Prevention of racial tension is the most common contemporary cause of local quarantines. They have been practiced in both North and South when Negro-white incidents occur. In Chicago for a time there was a ban on reporting of racial disturbances. In Washington, D.C., a spectacular riot in the municipal stadium was at first unreported, then distorted to make it appear non-racial. There is no question that at the moment these embargoes seemed prudent.

But not so long ago most Southern dailies had a quarantine in their general news columns on any items that made Negroes look good or normal. In these papers Negroes did not get born, win scholarships, get elected to lodge offices, or die in respectability; they only committed abhorrent crimes and led depraved lives. All the editors of such papers I ever talked to insisted that they were only reporting news the community needed to know.

When civil rights became an issue, many segregationist editors censored out news of integrationist agitation, believing they were doing it for the good of the community. Other editors censored out news of



Reference to Nazis harassing peace demonstration appeared in the Washington Sunday Star, April 18

segregationist agitation, believing they were doing it for the good of the community. Both kinds of editors sometimes did it at the same time in the same towns, as in Nashville and Little Rock during their troubles. These papers had decided what was good for the community and then trimmed their news to fit that end, though the ends were opposite.

Needless to say, race relations has not been the only subject of quarantines. For many years papers in heavily Catholic areas printed almost nothing about birth control. Trouble in religious groups, even spectacular public trouble, has come under fierce pressure for suppression. In Boston a former Jesuit, Father Feeney, defied his archbishop, spoke against diocesan doctrine, was excommunicated, and formed his own schismatic order, which held anti-Semitic rallies on Boston Common, sometimes with violence. But readers of the Boston papers remained ignorant of almost the entire Feeney story. The church wanted no news of its embarrassment and Jews wanted no spreading of anti-Semitic appeals, both urging a quarantine for the public good.

Nor is this practice limited to the United States. (It goes without saying that in countries with a controlled press the quarantine is found in its pristine form.) Recently the management of the Quebec papers, *Le Soleil* and *L'Evenement*, according to *Editor & Publisher*, "banned publication of statements preaching violence by separatists, nationalists and other groups considered to have no authority or groups considered not representative of the public interest." It is language one expects in a code issued by Louis XIV, but there is no reason to doubt that the general manager of the papers felt he was acting for the public good, or as he put it, "to serve the best interests of the milieu with which they are identified."

To argue against quarantines one has to admit risk. Printing news of bad events often makes the events

worse. Giving news space to a demagogue grants him his heart's desire. Reporting "events" deliberately created in order to exploit the news process rewards the schemers and image-makers.

But how can the editor ignore all planned events? If he did there would be almost no political news, because if there is one thing a politician plots day and night it is how to exploit the news process, and this goes from the President down to Rockwell. Most news events that are not acts of God are acts of men, and of men who have planned shrewdly. Inspired events need not be reported indiscriminately, but they cannot be dismissed indiscriminately.

Should the reporter and editor be responsible for the ill effects of printing truthful news? If so, then each editor and reporter has to decide ahead of time what he wants the reader to think and do, and report only those events that lead the reader to that end. Yet, what is one editor's bad effect may be another's glory: in Nashville and Little Rock two leading editors wanted differing kinds of society, and so reported different kinds of news.

The pursuers of domestic justice are safer putting their trust in an open society and professional discipline rather than in the wisdom and powers of prophecy of any individual — even a reporter or editor.

In the end, the journalist's responsibility is to the reader, not to history, and the heart of that responsibility is to give the reader as clear a picture of pertinent reality as he can, as the reporter sees it at that particular moment. Reality is a big word and a subjective one at that. But for journalists it boils down to the reporter's seeing the world with his own eyes and not someone else's. When he begins to filter what he sees and reports through a concern whether the reader will react "correctly" he has ceased being a reporter. The exception, of course, is the existence of a clear and present danger to life and order in the community, but genuinely clear and present dangers arising from printing of news are rare in any editor's lifetime.

Promoters of quarantines, when they are not the editors themselves, are usually responsible men doing good works. A few years ago such a group circularized editors, asking for a blackout of news about bigots:

"Bigots are not deterred by expressions of public disapproval but often thrive on them; publishing scurrilous statements by bigots, even to ridicule them, only gives such statements respectability; publicizing the bigot, even unfavorably, inflates him."

About George Lincoln Rockwell and the Nazis, the memorandum said:

"It is as an advocate of nazism that Rockwell demands a hearing. But is nazism an issue in this country? Should anyone urging a Hitler regime for the

United States be taken seriously as the exponent of one 'side' of a valid public question?"

The concern here is too much with the gratification of the bigot at seeing his name in the newspapers. Men on the way to their executions have been gratified to see their picture in the paper but their joy has not saved them. And if news space shall be given only to ideas considered respectable, then authority (which grants respectability) censors the press.

Nor is it true that Rockwell and others like him deserve news space only as advocates. They deserve it, when they deserve it at all, as principals in public events affecting others. The fact that they deliberately provoke such events does not necessarily mean that the events are not news. If a mayor douses his hair with lighter fluid and makes a flaming leap from a persimmon tree singing "Dixie," it may be a stunt but it is news. If a Nazi deliberately breaks up a public meeting by pushing the speaker off the stage, it is a device to get publicity but it is news. (Papers that are worried about the impact of the Nazis might have played the news straight and then asked editorially why the Nazis arrested for breaking up the meeting were let off with a \$10 forfeiture of collateral and never brought to trial.)

Who is to decide whether Nazism is an issue in this country? And how is anyone to know, if it is quarantined from public study? If it is not an issue, then there is no danger in playing news of Nazis in the normal way. The fact that there is a quarantine means editors accept that Nazism is an issue with enough people to cause worry. Rockwell is not an ordinary soapbox shouter. At one time he had the backing of a man who has \$4,000,000. He has been able to disrupt sessions of Congress. He has only a couple dozen loutish troopers but he is a resourceful leader who has been the subject of many man-hours of official worry by the Department of Justice, the metropolitan police, and the district commissioners, and of unofficial attention by university officials, and by American Civil Liberties Union leaders preparing defenses of the Nazis' constitutional rights while worrying how to accomplish this without infringing the rights of others. These are deliberations of a fundamental kind from which principles and practices evolve that are applied to all society. If the elite are worried about Rockwell as a problem, the citizen ought to worry, too. If the elite think the citizenry may come out the wrong way, then what is needed is more news, not less.

In 1960 a wave of desecrations of Jewish temples took place in Germany and the United States. In city after city there was an epidemic of swastikas splashed onto walls and windows — about 650 re-

ported to police. After it was all over, two social scientists, David Caplovitz and Candace Rogers, wrote an analysis for the Anti-Defamation League with this conclusion on the effects of news reports:

"It cannot be disputed that publicity given to the German desecrations and subsequent outbreaks here played a major role in setting off further incidents. The offenders themselves, as we saw earlier, often reported that they got the idea from the newspapers, from television, and other mass media. It is probable that as early incidents mounted, publicity given to them precipitated other incidents as offenders of otherwise low predisposition were stimulated to participate. But it would be unwise to conclude from this fact alone that the media should refrain from publishing information of such events."

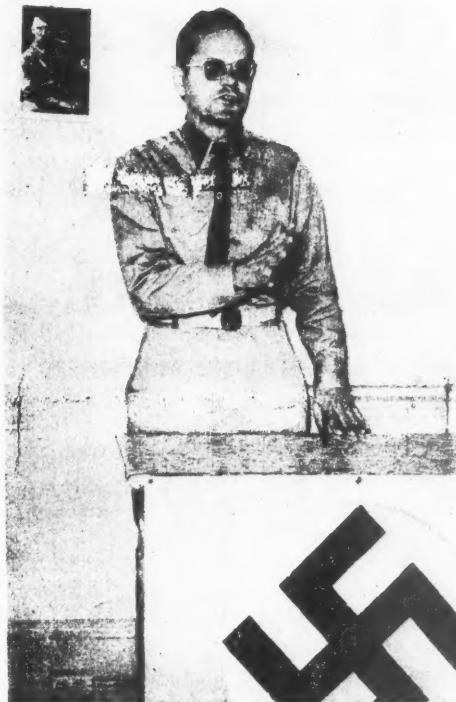
"In the first place, the outbreak received more than one kind of publicity. In addition to informing the public that the incidents had occurred, the media also published reactions to the outbreak — and the reactions were uniformly negative. Religious, civic and political leaders alike condemned the incidents in the strongest terms. Regardless of the actual level of anti-Semitism the epidemic represented, it called forth a unanimous denunciation of religious intolerance and a public reaffirmation of the principles of brotherhood. We do not know what long-range effects the reiteration of this public morality may have. It is possible that once the crisis has passed, the feelings and expressions of solidarity it evoked passed also, without touching more subtle and pervasive expressions of prejudice in housing, employment, and recreation. But it is also possible that because of the crisis itself, new agencies of cooperation were created, dormant patterns of collaboration reactivated, and the Jewish community was reassured about the goodwill of its neighbors . . .

"In some unknown proportion of cases, the swastika outbreak may well have given specific form and content to vague and diffuse hostilities, so that offenders who were not originally anti-Semitic have, in the course of the outbreak, learned about the prevalence — and for some, the legitimacy — of religious and ethnic intolerance. Their hostilities now have a new specific target. Others, however, who began with relatively mild and vague anti-Semitic sentiments, may well have been startled and abashed by the violent reaction their offenses provoked, learning that in this area at least, what seemed to them a legitimate and mild form of hostility is in fact a major transgression in the eyes of society. Just as the epidemic may have taught some to be anti-Semitic, it may have taught others not to be."



MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1965

The Nazis in S.F.



ROBERT MARTELL, "NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COORDINATOR"

A man sent from Glendale

By Paul Avery

'Heil Hitler' on Howard Street

A shabby second-floor room in the 1500 block of Francisco's Howard street holds its own secret. Five men gathered there on a recent Friday night.

One by one, they began filing in shortly after o'clock, blinking and squinting as their eyes readjusted to the harsh glare blazing down from the single, naked light bulb illuminating the cramped quarters.

There is only one chair in the 8-by-8 room. So, to pass the time until the appointed hour, they stand around, smoking, some talking about everyday things, the others looking looks at the others. What does it all mean?

Storm Ends ---But Wind Bluster On

Winds that lashed the Bay Area with week-long rain torrents blew a storm away yesterday and kept right on blowing.

Seas were breaking heavily over the bar outside the Golden Gate forenoon that three bound freighters, high loaded and shallow-dra ed, turned back into the bay.

Wind-driven waves battered much of the Northern California coast, but there was damage reported.

Wind velocities whistled at 91 miles an hour Saturday in Marin, Marinais.

San Francisco Chronicle put local Nazis on page one

Editorial notebook

Patriarch of the press

These paragraphs will have more of a personal ring than any others yet appearing in this column—a ring of deep admiration. They are written just after a visit with Thomas M. Storke who, at 88, is as valiant, fair, and courageous a gentleman of the press as we have yet met.

Tom Storke last year sold his *Santa Barbara News-Press* to his friend Robert McLean after turning down equal or better offers from some he thought "wouldn't be good for Santa Barbara." Now editor and publisher emeritus, he proudly showed us around the plant he had built, led us about his nearby ranch, showed us the great university campus whose creation he had spearheaded, and took us to the \$50,000,-000 reservoir that he had championed against strong opposition to relieve his town's water shortage. In his office, we browsed through the clippings of his exposé of the John Birch Society that had won him a Pulitzer Prize at the age of 85. Everywhere were mementoes of stanch stands taken at real economic risk, of fair-mindedness in supporting a Democrat here and a Republican there "because he was an honest man."

T. M. Storke belongs in a league with J. N. Heiskell, who at 86 made the decisions and took the losses involved in his Arkansas *Gazette's* becoming the valiant voice of responsibility in the Little Rock of 1959.

When he helped to dedicate a building named for him at Stanford University last November, Tom Storke enunciated the challenge to which he has responded so well:

"There have been giants, and heroes, in the newspaper history of America. Some have risked and lost their lives, in defense of the truth as they saw it, and in defense of their right to publish the truth. Such men are worthy of the Constitutional provision that guarantees the freedom of the press. We have great men in editorial chairs today—men of honesty, wisdom and courage, men of integrity and conviction. Some of them I may disagree with on some questions, but I honor them for their sincerity and their courage.

"I am sorry to say that we have many more who stand aside when the big issues come along, the issues

too hot to handle. They may know the score, but they are too timid or cautious to print it. They lack the guts that a real newspaper writer and editor must have. They lack the guts that a man must have, if he is to live with himself.

"There are good reasons why a journalist must have both honesty and courage. A newspaper or magazine is a commercial enterprise. It must show a profit, or die. But if it is only a business, it loses its main reason for being."

Those who spoke early

This is a period when newsmen in three quarters of the country, not having had to fight years of community bigotry, can smugly refer to the new "enlightenment" of many journals and broadcasters in the deep South. But when they do so, they should also applaud again those southern pioneers of journalism who were enlightened at a time when it was much more difficult.

Looking over the list of communities where resolution of racial problems is progressing well, one is struck by the parallel between community progress and leadership by the local press. Atlanta and Greenville (Mississippi) are two choice examples. Farther north, where it has been somewhat easier, Louisville and Charlotte come to mind. One can speculate on whether the community affected the newspaper or the newspaper affected the community. Close examination leads at least to the conclusion that honest, moderate, and courageous journalism has been a major factor in the peaceful transition of all four cities. Little Rock was a case apart. There one newspaper of two, with admirable courage, stood up early against the tide in a major storm. In all the cases, we can see now that courage has paid off.

How to spy

The promotion of eavesdropping in the mail-order ads of newspapers and magazines is becoming a bit chilling. One raises an eyebrow at those publications that continue to accept ads for tape recorders "that can be concealed in pocket or briefcase," for parabolic listening devices that can "overhear conversations hundreds of feet away," and for gimmicks that "monitor telephone conversations without lifting the receiver."

EDWARD W. BARRETT

First quarter, 1965:

Ceremony and conflict

Here are brief accounts of news events and coverage of the first three months of 1965, from the death of Winston Churchill through the escalation of the Viet Nam war to the demonstrations and violence in Alabama over voting rights.

Prime-time President

JANUARY 4: President Johnson became the first chief executive to make the State of the Union address a prime-time television program. Viewers lost "Wendy and Me," the "Bing Crosby Show," "The Lucy Show," "Many Happy Returns," and the "Andy Williams Hour." Comment by Jack Gould in *The New York Times*: "The over-all effect was to involve a maximum number of persons at home in the consideration of the President's plans and the issues that will be debated in the Congress . . ." This was apparently the dominant consideration when the experiment was repeated on Monday, March 15, with the President's address before Congress calling for a voting rights bill.

Farewell to Churchill

JANUARY 15-30: The vigil at 28 Hyde Park Gate, London, began in mid-afternoon on January 15 with a one-sentence medical bulletin: "After a cold, Sir Winston has developed a circulatory weakness and there has been a cerebral thrombosis." The waiting thereafter was to last nearly nine days. *Newsweek* (February 1) described the scene that developed outside the Churchill residence: "Sometimes as many as 500 persons braved cold rain and wet snow to jam the narrow byway, tangling their feet in the spaghetti of cables laid by television men recording the comings and goings of the Churchill family and its famous friends." Eventually, Lady Churchill requested

the removal of lights and the clearing of the street. Thereafter, the world's news media kept a more respectful distance.

In the United States, news organizations made ready their most elaborate obituary efforts. The largest — an eight-page section planned by *The New York Times* — had been remodeled and brought up to date on January 11 (the unannounced date of the beginning of Churchill's illness). Three hours after the first medical bulletin, United Press International began to send to clients a 20,000-word obituary.

Inevitably, the long wait and the elaborate preparation led to slips. Two occurred on January 19. The *Times* radio station, WQXR, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation inadvertently transmitted material taped for use after Churchill's death.

Eventually the true bulletin arrived, after days of stories describing (but without undue clinical detail) gradual deterioration in Churchill's condition. It came at 3:36 a.m., New York time, on Sunday, January 24. This was a most difficult time for American newspapers, which closed their massive Sunday editions early. A few missed the news altogether; a larger number decided to defer their obituaries.

The outstanding quality of the obituaries was size. Monday newspapers ran as many as two dozen stories — sometimes well-packaged, as in the *New York Herald Tribune*'s compact four-page section wrapped around the paper's first section, and sometimes simply sprayed through the entire interior news

SURVEY

Too much, too soon: The three major English-language wire services filed the following leads on the day before Churchill's funeral:

LONDON, JAN. 29 (AP)—GEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER STOOD WITH TEARS IN HIS EYES TODAY BEFORE THE TIER OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, HIS OLD COMRADE IN ARMS DURING W.W. II.

LONDON, JAN. 29 (UPI)—GEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER WENT THROUGH FALLING SNOW TO WESTMINSTER HALL TODAY TO PAY TRIBUTE TO SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL.
FOR TWO MINUTES THE FORMER PRESIDENT STOOD SILENTLY ON THE STEPS OF THE CRYPT OF THE "HALL OF KINGS," HIS HEAD BOWED IN HOMAGE.

LONDON, JAN. 29 (REUTERS)—GEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER TODAY VISITED WESTMINSTER HALL WHERE THE BODY OF HIS WARTIME COLLEAGUE, SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, LIES IN STATE IN A COFFIN DRAPE WITH THE BRITISH FLAG.

A little later in the day came the embarrassment:

LONDON -- ELIMINATE FIRST LEAD CHURCHILL (AP)—TELLING OF EISENHOWER VISIT TO WESTMINSTER HALL. ERROEUS. A SUBSTITUTE LEAD WILL BE FILED.

PLEASE KILL 1ST LEAD CHURCHILL LONDON AND ALL REFERENCE TO GEN. EISENHOWER VISITING WESTMINSTER HALL. A NEW 1ST LEAD WILL BE MOVED SHORTLY.
UPI NEW YORK

EDITORIAL
KILL OUR LONDON LEAD CHURCHILL (R 22). 3147X GEN.
EISENHOWER HAS NOT YET GONE TO WESTMINSTER HALL.
REUTERS, JAN. 29

After new leads had patched up the matter, explanations came from AP, UPI, and Reuters (below):

SOME REPORTERS MISTOOK WARREN FOR FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. THIS LED TO ERROEUS REPORTS THAT EISENHOWER HAD PAID HIS RESPECTS. HE IS EXPECTED TO VISIT THE HALL LATER IN THE DAY.

1ST ADD 1ST LEAD CHURCHILL LONDON (A76) X X X TODAY.
THE CONFUSION ABOUT EISENHOWER WAS CAUSED BY A CHAUFFEUR. SIX CARS CARRYING THE AMERICAN PARTY DROVE UP TO A PRIVATE ENTRANCE AT WESTMINSTER HALL AND ONE OF THE DRIVERS TOLD REPORTERS EISENHOWER WAS A MEMBER OF THE PARTY.

BOTH BRITAIN & DOMESTIC NEWS AGENCIES EARLIER REPORTED ERROEUSLY THAT EISENHOWER VISITED THE CATAFALQUE WITH THE OFFICIAL AMERICAN GROUP. THE MISTAKE AROSE BECAUSE HIS CAR CONTAINING AIDS HAD ARRIVED AT WESTMINSTER HALL.

sections. The once-Anglophobe *Chicago Tribune* ran a formal color portrait on page one and eighteen stories, including a feature on Churchill's friendship with its late isolationist chief, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, in the 1920's and 1930's. Reservedly, the story said: "The friendship between Col. McCormick and Churchill waned in later years."

Journalism's task did not end with the obituaries. A state funeral, outlined by Churchill himself, was scheduled for Saturday, January 30. It presented a difficult problem for the two networks, CBS and NBC, that decided to cover it extensively. Telstar communication across the Atlantic permitted only a few minutes of live broadcasting. Jets were hired to ferry the bulk of the broadcasts. CBS chartered planes to fly out of Shannon, Ireland (the westernmost airport where British television could be taped) to Halifax, Nova Scotia; a helicopter lift would take the tape to a nearby naval base where playback equipment had been set up to pipe it to Montreal and the network. NBC planned during the day to share tapes flown over by the Royal Canadian Air Force for CBC. A little later, an NBC-chartered jet would leave London, carrying a miniature studio in which David Brinkley and associates would be assembling a one-hour special program. The cost to the networks, according to *Broadcasting* magazine, was \$850,000.

This elaborate machinery worked. CBS gained a 20-minute advantage in putting on the first British tapes on Saturday morning. But NBC — as it announced repeatedly — had its one-hour beginning-to-end account of the ceremonies on the air at 4 p.m., New York time.

Life magazine also had a jet in the air, about two hours behind Brinkley and crew. It was an airborne magazine editorial office and photographic studio, bound for Chicago. The magazine had held up its presses since Wednesday in order to include the funeral. The plane landed at 6:30 p.m. Chicago time. Two days later *Life's* issue, containing twenty-one color pages on the funeral, was being distributed.

All these were impressive shows of ingenuity, even virtuosity. But more impressive was the fact that little of the hurry and competitiveness overflowed to the public. A good share of the credit must go to British television, whose commentators spoke with restraint or — in contrast with the American commentators at President Johnson's inauguration — kept silent.

His own rite

JANUARY 20: Television went on the air this Wednesday morning prepared to devote an entire day to the Presidential inauguration. It did all that and visited the inaugural balls at night, too. The leader

in air time was NBC, with 12½ hours in an 18-hour period. Critics' endurance seemed to vary:

John Horn, *New York Herald Tribune*: "Live television, that now rare commodity that once was broadcasting's promise to be a 'window on the world,' triumphantly returned to the nation's screens... Once again the medium that gets you to a fixed-position news event fastest with the mostest—but that has become primarily a jukebox of canned entertainment—took on an air of dignity."

Terrence O'Flaherty, *San Francisco Chronicle*: "The television newsmen were everywhere—talking, always talking. Each one seemed to be terrorized by the thought of silence—even when it was the one thing the audience longs for..."

The printed media were forced to re-package an event already thoroughly covered. Interpretation and explanation, the newspapers' supposed forte, amounted to little in this case.

The *Houston Chronicle* for the afternoon of January 20 found the story so enervating that in early editions it placed a local crime over the inauguration of a Texan (at right). The Canadian paper in the *Review's* sampling, the *Edmonton Journal*, put the event on page 59.

Other miscellany:

The President greeted cameramen out to cover his arrival at early-morning services: "I hope you know how much I hate photographers at church."

An NBC radio commentator complained during the afternoon that he could not see the parade because his view was obstructed by television equipment.

The *Chicago Tribune* television reviewer noted the scarcity of Republicans at the inaugural ceremonies.

Women's Wear Daily irked the White House by mentioning as a "low spot" of pre-inaugural ceremonies "Luci Baines Johnson in her tight white satin sheath, obviously no-girdle, and chewing gum..."

Least successful photograph: the color picture in the *Seattle Times* of the Washington State float—apparently made entirely from painted sponges.

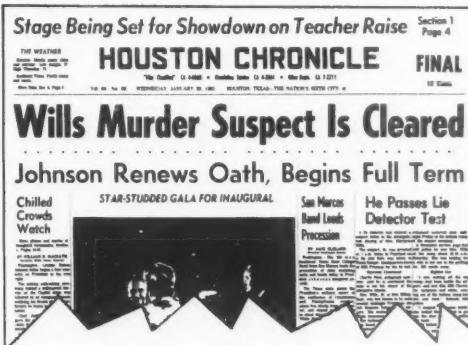
Lecture

JANUARY 22: Carole Tyler, former secretary to Bobby Baker of the case of the same name, appeared before the Tennessee Press Institute in Nashville to complain of unfair treatment and innuendo. Headline in *San Francisco Chronicle*: "Noted Beauty Scolds the Press."

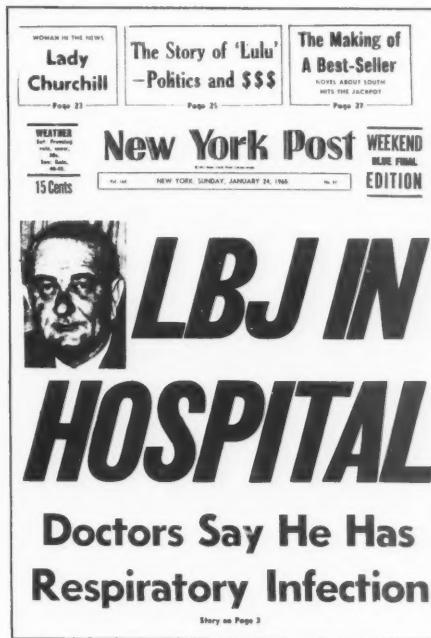
A day to shiver

JANUARY 23: On January 20, the *Boston Record-American* printed an inquiry from a Mrs. Wayne Iben, who asked: "Has any President ever been in-

Houston Chronicle placed four-day-old murder above inauguration, creating some confusion (at far right of page) as to who had taken lie test:



LBJ's cold: Contrasting tone in Saturday afternoon papers. New York Post and Providence Evening Bulletin:



SURVEY

capacitated as a result of the inaugural weather?" The editors replied by recounting the case of William Henry Harrison, who died of pneumonia a month after severe exposure during his inaugural parade.

Harrison's example seemed to loom large three days later when President Johnson was taken from the White House to Bethesda Naval Hospital with a bad cough about 3 a.m. Saturday. Two factors were ready-made to blow the story into an immense alarm — the commonly known medical history of the President and the occurrence of his illness in the weekend news vacuum.

James Reston offered additional reasons for Washington's concern: "So many unexpected things have happened here to the Tafts, the Vinsons, the Kennedys and lots of other prominent people here in the last few years that even the sound of an ambulance siren sends a shudder through the town . . . Washington [is] vaguely apprehensive about medical bulletins on any President's health, for it has been deceived by presidents and their doctors so many times in the past that it remains troubled and skeptical."

The CBS outlet in New York, which shows movies all night, carried the first news of the illness — a bulletin at 4:05 a.m. Starting at 7 a.m., the three major television networks began a continual series of bulletins and specials. CBS eased off in the evening, but the other two continued to interrupt programs, although they had no real new developments to report. NBC had twenty-nine bulletins in less than twenty-four hours. The circumstances and the handling combined to create alarm.

Late in February, Fred Friendly, president of CBS News, issued an order against unnecessary program interruptions. However, one more outbreak of bulletins preceded the directive (see next item).

Assassination in Manhattan

FEBRUARY 21-27: Despite a warning of a week before, when firebombs exploded in the home of Malcolm X, only two news organizations — in a city with six general newspapers, wire-service bureaus, and network and local broadcast organizations — had reporters on hand when Malcolm was killed at a meeting in upper Manhattan. The two were United Press International, represented in the hall by a reporter, Stanley Scott, and a camera stringer, Eric Maristany; and radio station WMCA, with Gene Simp-

son. In addition, *Life* acquired photographs taken immediately after the shooting by a photographer whose name was not revealed.

The shooting was thrust on the public consciousness in mid-afternoon on Sunday when New York's television channels broke out in bulletins. Station WABC-TV bore the brunt of the criticism, apparently because the reviewers were occupied in watching a film of the Bolshoi Ballet on its channels. Jack Gould of the *Times* wrote the following Sunday: "The difficulty stems from a major problem in broadcasting: the failure of people on duty in a newsroom to appreciate that they may be living in an entirely different world at a moment of crisis than the viewer or listener."

Of necessity, most reporting on the possible identity of the assassins was shadowy and cautious. One man arrested on the scene was charged with the killing, but more than one had been involved. This led the *New York Daily News* to run a story on Wednesday, February 24, saying that the assassination and the subsequent burning of a Muslim temple in Harlem "probably were the work of a third, even more fanatic Negro hate group." The story was attributed to "top police and federal investigators."

The *News* went on to describe a "Revolutionary Action Movement," controlled by Robert F. Williams, a North Carolina Negro who had gone to Cuba four years ago. The *News* developed the theme further on Thursday in an interview with a Charles 37X. But when the police made an arrest on Friday and described the suspect as a "Muslim enforcer," the *News* abruptly dropped the Williams story.

In the *World-Telegram and Sun*, Murray Kempston commented: "There are two ways to be a reporter. One is to depend just on what you yourself see and guess. That is a poor method. The other is to get inside information. That is a terrible method. . . . When an insider lowers his voice and whispers the real story, it is a signal you are being had."

Viet Nam: the new phase

FEBRUARY 8-MARCH 31: Political inclinations, official information policies, and the dual Washington-Saigon control system have made it hard to handle the Viet Nam story accurately and dispassionately. These difficulties were demonstrated again after the United States began to bomb North Viet Nam on Sunday, February 8.

It was hard for journalists to determine the seriousness of the crisis in the absence of a presidential fever reading. The majority of Monday's major newspapers gave banners to the air strikes and President Johnson's order for the removal of dependents. A few news-

papers broke out with jingoistic cartoons, but that spirit was absent from most of the comment. Also absent, however, was serious consideration of the United States government's story that the air strikes were simply a tit-for-tat response to the Viet Cong raid on the American base at Pleiku. Exceptions were Charles Mohr of *The New York Times*, who posed a whole set of unanswered questions; Saville Davis in *The Christian Science Monitor*, who stated, in a lead borne out by subsequent events, that the United States had chosen to make an international crisis out of the incident; and Richard Rovere in *The New Yorker*, whose "Letter from Washington" dated February 12 said that the administration had failed to show that the attack on Pleiku was directed from North Viet Nam.

The destruction by the Viet Cong of the American billet at Qui Nhon raised the crisis to its highest apparent temperature. Hushed leads were filed in Washington on the night of Wednesday, February 10: "A tense, mysterious silence gripped Washington Wednesday night . . ." (*Los Angeles Times*) and "International tension rose to a level of grave suspense" . . . (*The Washington Post*).

But thereafter the temperature was uncertain. James Reston was sure he saw signs of wartime: "... the propaganda machine is beginning to turn over, and the front pages are filling up with pictures of the American wounded and those almost meaningless aerial photographs of villages burning in the jungle." And, although he was certainly not intentionally part of the propaganda machine, the cartoonist Bill Mauldin helped to create a vivid public impression of the Pleiku raid when he played the simultaneous roles of correspondent, combat artist, photographer, and visiting GI father.

Still, newspapers remained willing to push Viet Nam out of the way for domestic news, and the *Oklahoma City Times* had the audacity on February 12 to produce a front page without a single mention of Viet Nam. Certainly, even if journalism did not show a consistently probing attitude during the first week of escalation, at least it did not give way to excitement.

One aspect of the crisis was a further shift from Saigon to Washington as the prime source for news of United States military actions. Correspondents on the scene found their hard-news roles reduced. In March, The Associated Press released a story state-side that described elaborate military restrictions on contacts between reporters and military personnel in Viet Nam. Although the Pentagon put the blame on the Saigon government, Jack Langguth of *The New York Times* filed a story from Viet Nam laying

Big day in the New York Journal-American: World War was hard to top but Journal succeeded;

SOVIET PREMIER WARNS WORLD WAR DANGER Tells Us—Get Out of Viet

A PLOT TO DYNAMITE NATION'S SHRINES

Statue of Liberty a Target

Page with no Viet Nám: Oklahoma City Times:

SURVEY

Taken for granted: headlines on White Paper from New York World-Telegram, Kansas City Star, New York Journal-American:

U.S. Proves Reds Widen War in Viet

PROOF OF RED 'INVASION'

Truth About Viet Nam: A U.S. White Paper

By contrast, the New York Daily News:

U. S. White Paper Warns North Viet of a Wider War

Precedent ignored: Photographs of dead Americans have been rare in former wars. Here is an AP photo of a Marine killed in Viet Nam, as it appeared on page one of the Akron Beacon Journal:



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the friction to a calculated American official effort to play down the American role in the air war. Washington promised some easing of restrictions, but the tension had already brought to a close a peaceful period of more than a year in relations between American correspondents and American officials. A sign of deterioration was the brief arrest of Malcolm W. Browne of the AP for shooting photographs at an air base.

At the Washington end, one exercise that tested news organizations was the issuance, late in February, of a State Department White Paper on Viet Nam, "Aggression from the North." For all but one newspaper, it was released on Saturday, February 27. *The New York Times*, traditionally an affiliate of the State Department, had the major points one day earlier. *The New Republic's* managing editor, Alex Campbell, reported the following colloquy at the briefing on Saturday morning:

"The State Department's spokesman turned up, looking remarkably like his brother in the White House, and asked the journalists not to name him in their stories, though he would answer their questions.

"Bill,"* a journalist asked him, "why is this document marked for release at six o'clock tonight when it was in the *Times* this morning?"

"The spokesman said stiffly that somebody's ethical standards were 'different from mine, and I hope from yours.'"

In the headlines, the White Paper received highly favored treatment. (See examples at left.) The document also received the endorsement of *Time*: "The White Paper convincingly demonstrates the tight control exercised by Hanoi over the war in South Viet Nam."

Although *Time* had had a week to study the document and to offer a considered opinion, the newspapers (or their headline writers, at least) appeared to be accepting the report at face value — a perilous enough course in any material dealing with Viet Nam.

Some of the subsequent comment made clear good reasons for handling the White Paper discriminately. A helpful analysis by Chalmers Roberts of *The Washington Post*, criticizing the White Paper's version of history, appeared on February 27. *The New Republic*, in its issue of March 13, cast doubt on the White Paper's mathematics, which described the "hard-core Viet Cong" as coming primarily from the north. Even stiffer criticism appeared in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which editorially called the document a "Weak Reed to Lean On," and said: "Those facts

*Bundy — ED.

about Viet Nam which it so carefully omits greatly weaken its case." Finally, on March 16, the columnist Richard Starnes suggested that "the verdict of history will be to reject it as crude propaganda."

Whether the White Paper stands that ultimate test or not, its handling in many newspapers at least shows the need of caution in the first instance when dealing with material issued for policy or propaganda. The imprimatur should be left to the opinion pages, not rendered on the copy desk.

The Alabama theater

A conversation reported by Doc Greene of *The Detroit News* no doubt had a familiar ring to Northern veterans of covering the South. Greene applied to a deputy at the Dallas County courthouse in Selma for a press badge. A sheriff's deputy, said to him, in accents Northern reporters reserve for depicting Southern whites:

"A reportah from DEtroit, eh, boy? What you goin' to write about us up theh? Sumpin bad, ah bet."

Greene got badge number 193, which showed the size of the press crowd in Selma by March 10. Greene asked what the badge entitled him to.

"It's foh youah protection, boy. They clubbed a lot of reportahs ovah in Marion. Didn't you heah, boy?"

It was true. In Marion, Alabama, on February 18, Richard Valeriani of NBC, and Reggie Smith and Pete Fisher, photographers for UPI, had been set upon by white spectators at a demonstration, while state troopers allegedly looked on. Valeriani had gone to the hospital for six stitches in his scalp. The assault drew stiff protests, not only from the north but from Alabama newspapers and the state press association.

Thereafter, through March, the state was safer for newsmen. During the weeks of tension at Selma, photographers were often shepherded by troopers. It was this guidance that placed photographers at an advantageous spot for the incident of March 7, when troopers plowed into a line of demonstrators at the foot of Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma.

The film and photographs taken of that scene immediately rivaled for impact the shots in Birmingham two years before of demonstrators facing police dogs and fire hoses. In form, the shots resembled the classic newsreel footage that recorded the far bloodier Memorial Day Massacre in Chicago in 1937. The film by Laurens Pierce of CBS was used by the Justice Department in court hearings for an injunction against the state police. (Pierce had been assaulted in Meridian, Mississippi, not many weeks before.) Outstanding among the still photos were the boldly

Photo display on page 3 of The Birmingham News, March 8, 1965:



Same incident in Chicago Negro daily, the Defender:



SURVEY

Birmingham News (and later Governor Wallace) criticized Detroit News for emphasizing discord away from home and playing down local stabbings. This is reproduction from Birmingham paper:



Later editions on March 10 reversed emphasis:



displayed selection by James Martin and Tom Lankford in *The Birmingham News* on March 8.

The incident at the bridge was the first in a chain of events that dominated the national news until completion of the march from Selma to Montgomery eighteen days later. Coverage in that period became increasingly intense, through the death of the Reverend James Reeb, Governor Wallace's consultation with President Johnson in Washington, President Johnson's address to Congress, and the march.

On Sunday, March 14, midway in this period, Governor Wallace appeared on the CBS program, "Face the Nation," and had a subsequent news conference on ABC. The governor demonstrated (as in his previous appearances) that an interview program can be exploited, the questioning newsmen became little more than spectators.

The presentation consisted in part of Wallace-style attacks on news media. One target was UPI, whose reporter, Al Kuettner, was one of the questioners. The governor charged that UPI had reported falsely that Jimmie Lee Jackson, shot on February 26, had been turned away from a hospital because he was a Negro. UPI maintained that it had quoted a nun at the hospital accurately. The nun remained silent on advice of counsel.

More general criticism came later from two professional sources. *Publisher's Auxiliary*, a spokesman for smaller papers, charged that the metropolitan press had "let traditional journalism mandates drown in a flood of merciless scorn and calumny directed upon a small American city that might better have been used as a station of progress and charity than as an image of brutality and inhumanity."

The editorial, in the issue of March 27, continued: "It is regrettable, and sad as well, that in this great news story so little of greatness has emerged in journalistic coverage. That so little of really good, clear objective reporting has been seen. The journalist may still remember with some pride some of the great journalism that was datelined Little Rock and Birmingham and Rochester." No specifics were given.

The Lynchburg (Virginia) *News* was bitter. In an editorial of March 28 reprinted in *Editor & Publisher*, the *News*, property of the Glass family, said:

"The media—and we mean the vast majority of its members, but not all—distorted the news, misrepresented the facts, poisoned stories labeled a 'straight' news with insidious editorial comment and biased viewpoints. It [sic] failed to present both sides of the Selma story. In a very real sense, the press became an ally of Martin Luther King, and, as such, an enemy of the white people of Selma."

In support of this and other charges, the *News* of-

ferred, as representative, several points: journalists supposedly had failed to emphasize that Selma Negroes had not tried to register on the days provided; the press had ignored the provocations "that brought on retaliatory violence;" the press had ignored "the role of Communist agitators and the Communist influence in the Selma incidents;" and, finally, the press had failed to question properly the motives of the Selma-Montgomery march.

The newspapers checked by the *Review* for coverage of the Selma story do not support the idea of a northern alliance with the Negroes. Rather, there was less difference than ever before between North and South. Few northern papers rivaled *The Birmingham News* for completeness and detail. *The Montgomery Advertiser* and the *Selma Times-Journal* tended to play matters cautiously, but certainly did not emulate the old Birmingham policy of barring the demonstrations from page one.

In the North, the papers checked played the story freely, as they did the Birmingham demonstrations and the urban riots in the North in 1964. The larger ones had one or more men on the scene; at least two—the *New York Daily News* and the *Chicago Daily News*—had reporters who marched the full fifty miles from Selma to Montgomery.

But was the coverage unfair, questions of emphasis or overemphasis aside? There is no doubt that most northern editorial comment was hostile—stridently hostile—toward Selma, Governor Wallace, and Alabama. And this attitude was shared by columnists, such as Jimmy Breslin of the *New York Herald Tribune*, who appear in news columns, thus perhaps creating confusion.

The reporting was vivid and detailed, as might be expected from a body of journalists increasingly experienced in handling racial stories. There is no doubt however, that the story belonged to the Negro side. It was that side that was creating—or staging—the events that became important political news. It was a case of the dynamic offense against static defense—and the offense won, as it usually does in journalism.

Thing from outer space

MARCH 24: While Ranger 9 cameras were speeding toward their crash landing on the moon, viewers at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena saw close-ups of the moon surface rushing toward them. A special converter made it possible for the same pictures to be received on television sets all over the country. And on home television screens for the first time was superimposed the formidable line, "LIVE FROM THE MOON."

Time cover of Martin Luther King by Ben Shahn sparked disagreement in magazine's letters column



Television in orbit: UPI photo of cosmonaut's maneuvers (as used in New York News, March 19)



Television: the local picture

Here are further brief appraisals of local television news by newspaper television editors and reviewers.

Pioneer in decline

KHJ-TV, Los Angeles (independent). Licensee: RKO-General.

Channel 9, Los Angeles, is one of the oldest (seventeen years) stations in town, and so is the look of its news programs. In this immensely competitive area with seven VHF and three UHF channels, KHJ-TV's nightly news reports seemingly serve only one purpose — to fill the time between movies.

At one time a leading force in the local television news field, the station recently trimmed the budget for news operations. A four-man staff now is responsible for two news shows nightly, one at 9:15 and another any time after the late, late show, often at 1:30 a.m.

The telecasts are as imaginative as any rip-and-read news operation can be. On-the-air personality Clete Roberts seems to know what he is reading. Framed in a straightforward, head-and-shoulders camera shot, he delivers the scripted words uninterrupted by such modern folderol as newsreel film. Occasionally a still photograph, plucked from the drums of the Fotofax, is used for background.

Roberts is the sole survivor of a once gung-ho bunch of reporters working out of KHJ-TV. As late as 1963, the Channel 9 newsmen gained renown for such outside, on-the-spot news specials as the Baldwin Hills dam break disaster and, earlier, the Bel Air fire. Now, however, the crew has diminished to a few lines on the credit crawl.

Biased reporting is not a problem here. There is not enough time for a commentator to twist or hammer the news in a 15-minute program that includes three or four commercials and a couple of minutes for Roberts's personal commentary. Generally, he tends to veer from anything suggesting anti-motherhood or inedible apple pie.

With one exception, the rest of Channel 9's news operation is unimaginative, staid, and perfunctory. An afternoon discussion program called "Nine on the Line" is something of a newsmaker. The hour offers a variety of name-value guests, ranging from authors to scientists and superior court judges, who are interviewed first by Roberts and then by telephoning viewers. So far, the program has succeeded in providing "honest" guests and not merely publicity seekers.

In general, KHJ-TV's new operation is a left-handed, one-swipe presentation. Possibly the excellent but costly competition of the three network channels forced Channel 9 out of the picture.

BOB HULL
Television editor
Los Angeles Herald-Examiner

Service and flexibility

WJZ-TV, Baltimore (ABC). Licensee: Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

One of the Group W stations owned by the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, WJZ-TV does not take its public service obligations lightly. Its news programs and documentaries are presented with remarkable consistency. Taken as a whole, they afford their viewers a running account of what's going on in Maryland and Baltimore.

The station's policy is flexible; if a series or some phase of newscasting doesn't measure up to hopes, it is replaced by another. If, on the other hand, a program catches on, it may be expanded in time and content. There seems to be a continuing effort to keep pace with the growth and needs of the area. The facilities of the station are used objectively as a sounding board for all shades of opinion.

Local newscasts, incorporating a portion of network reports, occupy more than nine hours weekly. Four mobile units, manned by expert reporters, supply films for these programs, and the legmen often turn up in the studio to narrate and comment on their own stories.

On March 1, WJZ-TV expanded its coverage and added new features such as brief interviews with citizens in the spotlight and a panel of staff members on the 11 p.m. program who comment, sometimes humorously, on the events of the day.

There are daily in-school telecasts, in addition to educational series which appear weekly, special documentaries as occasion arises, and editorials on an average of three a week. These are constructive and

carefully considered. They are prepared by an editorial board, which meets twice a week.

Two major documentary series are presented, alternating monthly. "Focal Point" deals with subjects of interest to the community, such as renewal projects, civil rights, transit problems, public improvements and education. "Our Maryland Heritage" has presented excellent studies of the Johns Hopkins University, H. L. Mencken, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Edgar Allan Poe, and others.

In the main the attitude of the station is comparable to that of a good newspaper, reporting the facts and mindful of the good of the community.

DONALD KIRKLEY
Television editor
The Sun, Baltimore

Emphasis on opinion

KHOU-TV, Houston (CBS). Licensee: Gulf TV Corporation (for Corinthian Broadcasting Corporation).

In a three-station market, KHOU-TV operates with the smallest local news operation. Its newscasts are likely to reflect the difference. Still, the station does an adequate job with its full-time news staff of seven.

It is considerably stronger in presenting editorial opinion. It is the city's only station that carries daily editorials, on subjects selected by the station's editorial board to represent the management point of view. These are supplemented by daily two-minute views from a variety of newspaper columnists, a national package provided by the parent John Hay Whitney group.

About 60 per cent of the KHOU-TV editorials deal with local matters. The station offers, and occasionally provides, equal time for opposition views.

Time allocated to news is about average. There is a 20-minute program on the locally produced "morning show." A popular 30-minute news package of local, national, and international news and features is broadcast at noon. The 6 p.m. news slot concentrates on local coverage, supplemental to the preceding Walter Cronkite news from CBS. The final news program is broadcast at 10 p.m.

The station does a fair job with on-location coverage, using an average of four sound interviews and/or filmed sound stories for each evening news show, plus an occasional documentary.

ANN HODGES
Television editor
Houston Chronicle

Crisp and competent

WCAU-TV, Philadelphia (CBS). Licensee: Columbia Broadcasting System.

Attempts at flippancy and folksiness (chitchat about a newscaster's golf game, for instance) sometimes dissipate an otherwise crisp and competent local news, sports, and weather half-hour on WCAU-TV.

Except for a brief recapitulation of the network newscast's headlines of the preceding half hour, news on this evening program is strictly local, with frequent use of station-produced film. Leg men, though not always seen or heard, are cited by name. On Tuesdays and Thursdays the last five minutes are devoted to a clearly labeled editorial, delivered by a non-executive station spokesman. The station takes straightforward stands on controversial local issues.

(Editorial autonomy is such that WCAU-TV and WCAU radio have taken opposing positions on busing of parochial students.)

News is a regular, if secondary, part of a housewife-oriented WCAU-TV program, "TV 10 Around Town," daily at 1 p.m. The station also airs "TV 10 Reports," a news-related program of varying quality, Tuesdays at 7:30 p.m. and "TV 10 Man in the News," preceded by a five-minute newscast, Sundays at 12:05 p.m.

Sporadically, WCAU-TV presents an ambitious hour-long documentary, supplementing its own staff with "name" imports like E. G. Marshall, Raymond Burr, Shirl Conway, and most recently for a report on Pennsylvania miners' plight, ex-miner Jack Palance. Several have been excellent.

Between the station's own entries and the network's, news-seekers are well-served.

HARRY HARRIS
Radio-TV editor
Philadelphia Inquirer

Under new management

WIIC, Pittsburgh, (NBC). Licensee: Cox Broadcasting Stations.

Pittsburgh is one of the few cities where NBC's Huntley-Brinkley newscasts do not lead the ratings. The blame rests squarely on the local news department of station WIIC. Pittsburghers are in the habit of watching the local newscasts of the two other stations, and they stand by for the presentations of the two other networks.

Following the recent \$22,000,000 sale of WIIC to the Cox Broadcasting Company, the station is in the

middle of a changeover. So far, it has done little to improve its local news broadcasts.

Pittsburghers, it seems, are influenced by the personal attractiveness of the newscasters. And WNIC's rivals are more attractive. Besides that, the rivals' presentation is more interesting, more definite. The station's news is unbiased and balanced; enterprising it is not.

Channel 11 suffers, too, in that it has no noon news. Instead, it chooses to offer a network game show. In the evenings, at 6, WNIC is 15 minutes ahead of the next starter, but beats little more than the clock. At 11 p.m., WNIC mixes national and local news, as the others do, using local newscasters.

The station's sidebar work is interesting. Two correspondents were sent by the station to cover the recent European tour of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra. These correspondents also reported on Bishop John J. Wright's participation in the Ecumenical Council and on Pittsburgh families working in Italy. But other stations provide more community service documentaries than WNIC.

The station employs considerable billboard advertising to "push" its newscasters, but their presentation of the news is less than worthy.

VINCE LEONARD
Television editor
Pittsburgh Press

A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

The *New York Herald Tribune* is a moderate, liberal Republican newspaper. I am a democratic socialist. Our strange convergence on this page is one of those signs of the times like the frug and the Great Society. — Michael Harrington, author of *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, in his first weekly column, February 14, 1965.

We have now got in the curious position where politicians are likely to behave more seriously and sensibly in the television studio than they do in the semi-privacy of the House of Commons. The time has come, evidently, to bring the television cameras into Parliament. — The *Guardian*, London, quoted in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 12, 1965.

Maybe the reason why so many of the best journalists come from sportswriting is because there is no known way of releasing the story of a game before it is played. — Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale University, at 200th anniversary dinner of The Hartford Courant, October 29, 1964.

In South Vietnam, as in Alabama, American journalists are held responsible for acts of violence by the natives. — Richard Rovere in *The New Yorker*, March 20, 1965.

Take a 90-year-old newspaperman, who belongs to the Newspaper Guild and who moonlights by teaching at night, to lunch. — Motto suggested anonymously in response to Republican official's directive to Republicans to get along better with newspapermen, Negroes, union members, ethnic groups, and senior citizens (quoted in *The National Observer*, February 22, 1965).

It is a sad fact that the truth is not usually news. And news does not necessarily reflect the truth. The constructive things about our society and what it represents are not newsworthy and can be completely overshadowed by the violence of the daily headlines. — Arthur E. Meyerhoff, advertising agency head, in Chicago address criticizing government dissemination of straight news abroad, February 16, 1965.

In addition to . . . fifty-six formal meetings I have had nine informal, lengthy walks with the White House press corps. Some of you used to enjoy those walks when they were scheduled a little earlier with President Truman and from time to time those of you that do enjoy them will be invited back again. — President Johnson in his news conference of March 20, 1965, at the LBJ Ranch.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

Switched: A New York AM station owned by Westinghouse, WINS, from rock 'n' roll to 24-hour-a-day news, on April 19, 1965. Once the haunt of such luminaries as Murray the K, the Beatles' pet disc jockey, the station said good-bye to all that in order to end duplication with competitors and to create New York's "first electronic newspaper." Donald H. McGannon, president of the broadcasting group, promised "no serious repetition" of news within each hour, and, of course, a major expansion of the station's news staff. The new WINS follows two other commercial stations now broadcasting into the United States with all-news formats: WNUS, Chicago, broadcasts news 24 hours a day; XTRA, Tijuana, Mexico, covers Southern California. Earlier experiments included KFAX, San Francisco, which soon had to abandon the all-news programming for background music; and WABC-FM, New York, which broadcast constant and repetitious 15-minute news shows thru the New York newspaper shutdown of 1962-1963.

Remodeled: The typographical dress of the *Christian Science Monitor*, beginning with the March 1, 1965, issue. Changes included the adoption of a five-column format, the enlargement of the body type, and the use of an uncapitalized style in headlines. The designer, Professor Edmund C. Arnold, of Syracuse University, proclaimed it a "preview of the American newspaper of 1985."

Professor Arnold has been a leading advocate of moderate reform in newspaper design. His work also graces *The National Observer* and the *Toronto Star*.

Along the same line, although not designed by Professor Arnold, was the change, set for August, to a six-column format by *The Courier-Journal* of Louisville. Norman Isaacs, the paper's executive editor, reported early industry reaction as follows: "The publishers are warmly approving. The business managers are cautiously interested. We do not expect to hear from those with the souls of ledger clerks."

National advertisers, committed to the standard 11-pica column, could be expected to resist these variations. However, the *Monitor's* new format permits advertising in the old widths, and Louisville says that normal advertising widths could also fit the six-column format.

There were suggestions in print that the *Monitor*



undertook the changes — and a simultaneous expansion of its major bureaus — because it was sagging. The *Monitor* had fallen off from an all-time high circulation of 230,000 during the New York newspaper shutdown of 1963 to 193,000 at the beginning of this year. Moreover, the *Monitor* was receiving more support than was thought desirable from its sponsoring church. Summing up the situation, Bill Dorr wrote in the trade weekly *Publisher's Auxiliary*: "The *Monitor* is somewhat like a once-favored movie queen who has been faded by years and mediocre roles, now determined to make a strong comeback. And, judging from the first act, she has done just that."

Arrived: A substantial new weekly for government employees, the *Federal Times*, on March 3, 1965. It is the civil counterpart of three established military-oriented weeklies, *Army Times* (founded in 1940), *Air Force Times* (1942), and *Navy Times* (1951). All four are published by the Army Times Publishing

Company of Washington. Like the others, *Federal Times* is directed at an audience scattered around the world — two and a half million federal employees. Its original circulation guarantee was 50,000, at 25 cents a single copy.

The paper's initial editorial, proclaiming its belief in higher salaries and better opportunities, made clear that the government employee would have a friendly new advocate. But not necessarily a lively one; the initial issues were conventional in tone, even dull. Moreover, a majority of stories seemed to be based exclusively on official information. Even an article critical of Department of Agriculture policies used Civil Rights Commission information.

Not that *Federal Times* is intended as a "company" publication. There are sparks that show it could develop into a tough defender of employee's rights. The second issue contains a story, obviously embarrassing to the Post Office Department, about peepholes used to spy on employees. Perhaps there will be more of this as *Federal Times* develops muscle.

Arrived: An international quarterly, *censorship [sic]* with a cast of advisory editors reminiscent of television's Four-Star productions. The magazine's five stars are Daniel Bell of Columbia University for the United States, Ignazio Silone for Italy, Anthony Hartley and Richard Hoggart for Great Britain, and Armond Gaspard for Switzerland. The publisher is the Congress for Cultural Freedom, London, and the stylish design (pink, purple, and black cover) and printing are done by Britons.

In the first issue, content is very general, consisting of surveys of the freedom to publish or broadcast in nine European countries, the United States, and Australia. The survey of conditions in the United States was written by Alan Reitman of the American Civil Liberties Union, who attempts to cover all major developments since World War II. The three articles on Communist countries were written by non-residents, with a consequent air of remoteness. There is a place for such a continuing report on the battle to speak freely, but it needs to get down to cases.

Arrived: An adless tabloid, *U. S. Consumer*, on March 22, 1965. It is published bi-weekly in Washington by Consumer News, Inc., identified in the masthead as "a privately owned news service dedicated to strengthening the free enterprise system through a fully informed public." The publisher is Arthur E. Rowse, a Washington newspaperman. His new publication deals with all types of consumer maltreatment, particularly

the abuses uncovered by government investigation. The initial issue carried a page-one welcome by Esther Peterson, special assistant to President Johnson for consumer affairs and a prime target in recent months of advertising spokesmen.

Such a publication invites comparison with the leader of the field, *Consumer Reports*. Differences are readily apparent: *U.S. Consumer* does not engage in systematic product testing and grading as does *Consumer Reports*. It simply covers consumer news. Even in this respect, there is a danger that it will overlap the older publication, which has stepped up its coverage of governmental news in recent years.

But taken on its own terms *U.S. Consumer* is a competent piece of journalism. It is literate, moderate in tone, and tightly written. Most of the material, though, simply gives new detail on stories that were widely known before — for example, that trading stamps are likely to lead to higher prices. *U.S. Consumer* may find new veins to mine in future issues.

Arrived: On Pan American Day, April 14, *The Latin American Times* an English-language five-day newspaper published in the United States and devoted to news of Latin America. The publisher is Leonard Saffir, a founder of a New York strike paper in 1963. The editor-in-chief is Jorge Losada, formerly of the news magazine *Vision*.

Transferred: The monthly magazine of translations of the world's press, *Atlas*, to Colorado's Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. At the time of the change, in February, the four-year-old magazine's circulation was 20,000, down from an earlier announced high of 57,000.

Robert O. Anderson, a New Mexico banker and rancher who is chairman of the institute, announced changes in the direction of the magazine: Malcolm Muir, Jr., former executive editor of *Newsweek*, became publisher-editor. Eleanor Davidson Worley, the original publisher, became director of research and new projects. Quincy Howe, the original editor, kept his post. The editorial offices remained in New York.

The March issue, first under the new ownership, brought no startling changes in format. The magazine remained, as before, a publication of handsome design and intermittently lively reading. It continues the magazine's tradition of printing, among other things, foreign criticism of American ways — this time a pummeling of the "dreadful American females" by a Rome newspaper correspondent.

Backdrop for Canon 35

One of the sorest points of contention between lawyers and journalists — and there have been many in evidence since the Warren Report — is the existence of Canon 35 on the Canons of Judicial Ethics of the American Bar Association. Canon 35 states that "the taking of photographs in the court room during sessions of the court or recesses between sessions, and the broadcasting of court proceedings, degrade the court and create misconceptions with respect thereto in the mind of the public and should not be permitted."

Although broadcasters are now among the most vehement opponents of Canon 35, it predates commercial television by years. Canon 35 was adopted, in fact, with almost no debate at the ABA convention of 1937, in disregard of the work of a lawyer-journalist joint committee that was trying to arrive at standards of cooperation. Both the joint committee and Canon 35 can be traced back to the Hauptmann trial of 1935, the famous "trial of the century." Some of the reasons for Canon 35 are implied in the article reprinted below. It appeared in *The New Yorker* for February 23, 1935, in the "Wayward Press" department. It was signed by "Guy Fawkes." Its author was a man now better remembered for other types of writing, Robert Benchley.

Robert Benchley: "Après la Guerre Finie"

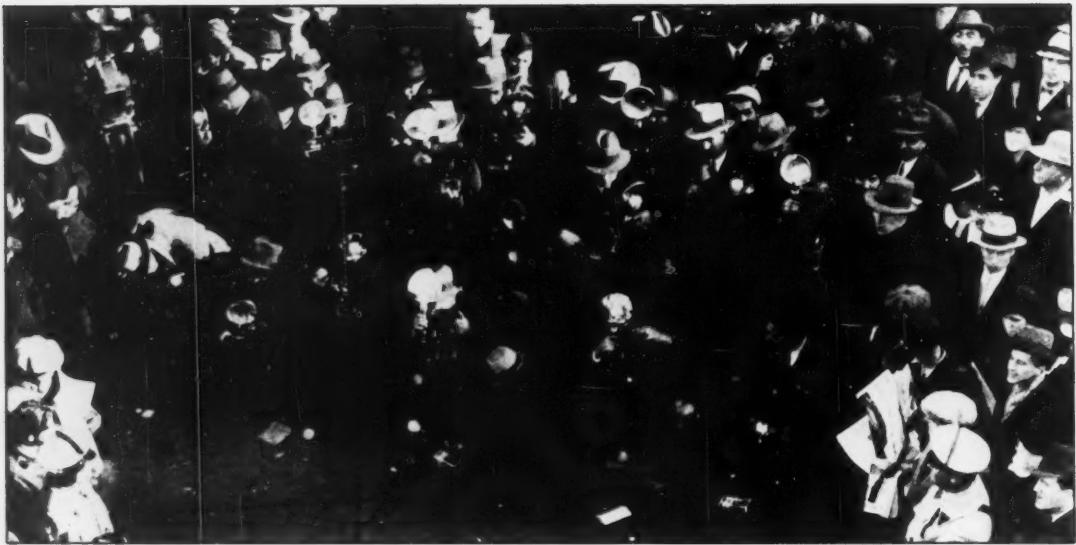
Well, the boys and girls have had their Flemington Coverage Carnival, and have taken down the tent, packed up their thirteen million words of copy, and come back to mufti again. And now what? What has ordinary journalism to offer them for the future?

In all the psychoanalyzing of Hauptmann, the witnesses, the jury, and the judge, when anyone who could get at a typewriter was, *ipso facto*, a psychiatrist, jurist, mind-reader, juryman, and soothsayer, has anyone thought of the possible mental effect of those thirty-two days of clairvoyance on the dozens of ordinary writing folk who not only felt themselves qualified to look into the minds of their fellow-men and women but actually saw their inspired dicta in print the next day under a by-line? Thirty-two days of sitting in absolute judgment on a man, with complete freedom of expression and columns of type at your disposal, is no mean experience.

Has anyone figured out how many delusions of

grandeur were fostered, or has anyone worried about what these writers are going to do, how empty their lives are going to be, now that they find themselves back from Olympus with nothing more important to do than cover political conventions or announce conceptions?

Our newspaper offices are going to be filled with men and women sitting at their typewriters, with what Mr. Winchell has already referred to as the day's "trivia" before them, looking dreamily into space and thinking of the days in Flemington when they announced to a waiting world just who was telling the truth and who was lying, who was fine and who was despicable, what was right and what was wrong. Those thirty-two days, or their like, will probably never come into the lives of these writers again, for there will, God willing, never be a public rodeo of such proportions again in their lifetime. What compensation can they find, or evolve, to keep



Wide World Photos

Camera battery: Photographers' corps at "trial of the century" work outside the courthouse on January 3, 1935

themselves in the position they have assumed? Or will they just go slowly mad?

There were men in the war who, for the first time in their lives—and the last—found, in a second-lieutenancy or a captaincy, an authority which nothing but a bungling catastrophe could have brought them. Following the demobilization, they became part of the Lost Generation, and many of them must look longingly back on those days in France when their word was law and certain people had to salute them. In the reporting of the Hauptmann trial the word of any number of people was not only the Law but the Prophets, and, as they Got their Man into the bargain, the comparative unimportance which has come with demobilization may be a wrench which the smaller minds may not be able to take without cracking.

Beginning with the first day of the trial, the competition for Court Detective, Psychiatrist, Phrenologist, and Presiding Judge was thrown open not only to accredited reporters but to novelists, society editors, recipe editors, playwrights, columnists, detective-story writers, linotypers, and copy boys. We were told what Hauptmann was thinking, what Mrs. Hauptmann was thinking, what "type" each witness was, and what "psychic fingerprints" he or she left on the sensitive mind of the writer. People whose personal opinion would have counted for nothing had we met them face to face in the street told us just what to believe about the proceedings. We were told just what the course of the defence and prosecution would be

on the day following, and we were told, with a slight margin of error, on just which day Hauptmann would "break." Sometimes our mentors were right, sometimes they were wrong, but they were always confident, and as their divinations ended on the whole in a victory for Law and Order, there must remain in many of their minds the conviction that they have powers which place them above the ruck of ordinary news- and fiction-writers. The whole point of this pessimistic article is "What are they going to do with these powers, now that the Campaign is over?"

Of course, there were many straight reporters who had no psychic gifts, who just told the story of the trial day by day. There must be some newspaper offices, notably that of the *Times*, in which the case was handled like a news story and not a crusade, in which today not one maladjusted man or woman resents the implications of inferiority incident to a daily assignment. They just covered the Hauptmann trial, that was all.

True, many of the reporters who merely covered it had their opinions in the matter. It would be impossible not to have. A poll conducted by the *Journal* as early as January 12th (one whole month before the end) showed that six reporters out of thirteen polled were convinced of the defendant's guilt as a murderer, one as a kidnapper, two merely as an extortionist, three withheld judgment, and one thought him innocent. One or two of those who thought him guilty immediately joined the forces of the prosecution

in their news accounts. Others merely indicated a healthy prejudice in their choice of adjectives. Occasionally there were two or three who presented the evidence and let the readers form their own judgments. These were the plodders.

There are other scribes who covered the trial who are probably taking the change of venue in their stride and can adapt themselves to whatever the city desk may see fit to assign them without whipping into neuroses. They are the correspondents who supplied us with the news that Mr. Wilentz was rivalling Mr. Reilly for the title of "best-dressed lawyer," that Flemington stores were having a run on cameras, that local bars had fixed up a drink of applejack known as The Hauptmann, that a dog named Nellie had become the mascot of the trial, and that the sale of "kidnap ladders" and miniature sleeping suits was progressing nicely. The world is always full of a number of things for these light-hearted reporters, and the metropolitan district is their oyster. Let's not worry about them.

And let's not worry about the future of the correspondents who, to while away the tedium of the "world's greatest murder trial," congregated in the taproom of the Union Hotel in Flemington, and, under the leadership of its composer, also a reporter, staged a cantata of the trial to the tune of "Schnitzelbank," with fourteen verses and a chorus. Here, according to the *Herald Tribune's* zealous correspondent, are two of the verses:

Ist das nicht ein ransom note?
Ja, das ist ein ransom note.
Ist das nicht ein Nellie boad?
Ja, das ist ein Nellie boad.

Ist das nicht ein uncrossed "t"?
Ja, das ist ein uncrossed "t."
Ist das nicht ein double "e"?
Ja, das ist ein double "e."

CHORUS

O du schoene, O du schoene,
O du schoene Hauptmann Case.

To these gentlemen no harm can come from being transplanted back to the workday world. In fact, to these gentlemen no harm can come at all.

In case it has seemed that this department has been trying to pan those writers who took themselves and the Hauptmann trial seriously enough to give their all to the reading public and to lend their powers of deduction and prose composition to the cause of prosecuting a man whom they sincerely believed to be guilty, let it be stated that the only complaint is

against a system which allows anyone and everyone to try a case in the newspapers. You can't blame a writer for taking his head when it is given him even if it isn't much of a head.

We are merely speculating, in a spirit of pure scientific research, on just what these people are going to do now and what effect their features will have on the newspapers we shall all be reading for the next year. What will become of them in the Big Let-down? And what, more staggering than all, will become of the entire *Evening Journal*.

—GUY FAWKES

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When television looked into two Texas courtrooms

Few television newsmen in the United States have had personal experience in live coverage of trials. An exception is the writer of the article below, who is news director of KFDA-TV, Amarillo, Texas. At this time, he is on leave as a CBS Foundation Fellow, studying at Columbia University.

By JAMES D. PRATT

A television camera peered through the glass of a courtroom door in the Randall County Courthouse in Canyon, Texas. Another camera, placed just outside an open door, focused on Judge E. E. (Gene) Jordan. Station KFDA-TV of Amarillo had entered the 47th District Court of Texas to broadcast the sanity trial of Dewey Hicks, a contractor indicted in the murder of two men.

It was the first time any station in the area had tried live coverage of a court proceeding. We had previously broadcast hearings before legislative committees and state courts of inquiry in the Billie Sol Estes Case. Since neither of these had been true courts, Canon 35 of the American Bar Association's Code of Judicial Ethics, which forbids the broadcasting or photographing of court proceedings, had not been deemed applicable. Competing television and

radio stations had scrambled to set up microphones and cameras in the hearing rooms.

In the spring of 1963, when Hicks's case came up for trial, Judge Jordan gave us permission to broadcast the event on condition that our equipment be kept out of the courtroom. This he could do under Canon 28 of the Texas Bar Association's judicial code, which lets each judge decide whether to allow photographic and electronic coverage of his court.

In establishing ground rules, the judge made us promise not to discuss the case on the air until a jury had been selected and not to replay before the trial had ended any of the recordings we would make. There were to be no television receivers in the courthouse, where witnesses might watch them and hear each other testify.

When the trial began, at 1 p.m. on a Monday afternoon, our chief engineer, William J. B. Smith, and his crew had cameras positioned at two doors of the courtroom. The only pickup for sound was an ultra-sensitive directional microphone suspended above one camera. I served as commentator, identifying witnesses and explaining court room procedure from in front of a monitor in the jury room.

We all gulped when the first witness lapsed into profanity, but we hung on and carried the trial in its entirety. During court recesses, we interviewed the opposing lawyers about what had been happening in the courtroom. Each day, after the court had adjourned, I walked to the judge's bench and summarized the day's testimony for the television audience. We replayed recordings of these wrapups on news shows, supplementing them with silent film.

On Tuesday afternoon, the second day, the jury returned a verdict that Hicks had been sane at the time of the crimes and that he was sane during the trial. Judge Jordan released him on bond to await trial for murder. Before ending our live coverage, we made video tape of the reading of the verdict, of the reaction to the verdict by the defendant, and of a brief comment by Judge Jordan.

Public response to the experiment was favorable. Viewers complimented us. The mother and the wife of the two slain men, who were father and son, thanked me for broadcasting "the truth." But the defense attorney complained.

And a few weeks later Hicks committed suicide.

"Can't you see now that he was insane?" the defense attorney asked me. "If it hadn't been for your coverage of the trial I believe that Dewey would now be in a mental institution and not buried in the ground."

We did not find his argument convincing, and decided to broadcast court proceedings again at the

next opportunity. In June, 1963, we asked permission to broadcast the trial of Robert Earl Clements Sr., a former owner of the Superior Manufacturing Company, who had been accused of offering fictitious fertilizer tanks as collateral for loans. The trial would involve principal figures of the Billie Sol Estes case.

This time Judge Jordan, holding court in the Potter County Courthouse in Amarillo, refused to give his express consent to the broadcast. But I persuaded him to let us set up our equipment, at the risk of being thrown out if the defense objected. Again we put one camera behind the glass of a door and another in a doorway, where it was concealed by draperies, except for the lens. A shotgun microphone also poked through the curtains.

The defense did object to our presence on grounds that television might enable witnesses to watch and hear each other testify. Dismissing the objection, Jordan recalled the witnesses, who had already sworn not to read newspaper accounts of the trial, and instructed them not to watch television or listen to radio broadcasts of the proceedings. Jordan told me afterwards he would have called off the broadcast if the objecting attorney had contended the television coverage would harm his client's case.

It turned out to be a dull trial, involving complicated testimony about financial matters. There were exciting episodes, such as the performances of Coleman McSpadden, Ruel W. Alexander, and the late Harold E. Orr (the three men indicted along with Billie Sol Estes on Federal fraud charges) and the presentation of the final arguments.

But our station was barraged with complaints from viewers deprived of their normal entertainment fare. The station manager, John Tyler, called me at the courthouse and said: "Get out of it somehow." Interrupting the live coverage, I explained that we were returning to our regular program schedule while the court heard the testimony of an accountant.

That set the studio's telephone ringing again, this time with demands that we resume our broadcast of the trial. We did so promptly, and from that moment until Clements had been found guilty and sentenced to three years in jail we maintained live coverage. In all, the trial programming ran 22 hours, costing us dearly in the sponsored programs we sacrificed.

Clements took his case to the State Court of Criminal Appeals, where he won a reversal on ground that the indictment had been faulty. Upon being re-indicted last fall, he asked for a change of venue, which was granted him by Judge Jordan in January. Jordan relied on the example of the Federal district court, where Clements faced similar charges and had already received a change of venue. Federal Judge

Joseph Dooley had held that our television coverage in the state court, together with other local publicity, had made it impossible to give Clements a fair trial in Amarillo.

Looking back on these two experiments in televised court coverage, I see that we made a number of mistakes. If we were to broadcast another trial, and no doubt we will, I would try to alter both the technical arrangements and the format of our first ventures. To improve the quality of our sound, I would ask the court's permission to install hidden microphones. These could be used incidentally to feed the court's own tape recorder. Moreover, I would make sure our cameras were well hidden, preferably in an adjacent room behind backless mirrors. Newspaper photographers could shoot their pictures from the same room, and reporters, if they wished, could cover the story by watching closed circuit television somewhere outside the courtroom. Every interested television and radio station would have access to the sound and pictures we produced.

Given another chance, however, I would not tie myself to a live broadcast of an entire trial. I would record everything, then sort out the news and use excerpts on regular news programs and in documentaries. Live coverage, if I used any, would be limited to the final arguments and the reading of the verdict. Of course, regular programming could always be interrupted for immediate replays of video tape, if the news warranted such treatment.

Our problems at KFDA-TV in broadcasting trials have been essentially those of the networks in covering political conventions. We have traced developing drama, but we have not produced news stories that cut through the dull and insignificant to focus on the happening of consequence. I think the remedy lies in some kind of edited broadcast coverage. Such a technique is already in use at the United Nations and can some day give us interesting coverage of legislative bodies, if and when they open their doors to electronic and pictorial journalism. The task of providing a complete record can be left to newspapers.



"and you feel
relations between President Johnson
and the Washington press corps
are strained.
May I quote you?"

Interlandi in Los Angeles Times

NAME? AGE? ADDRESS? RACE?

When is a man's race a legitimate part of his identification in the news? Is description of a person as a "Negro" — particularly in a crime story — discriminatory? Or is it simply a detail like age, occupation, or address? Controversy over this point flares up with a vigor that surprises those journalists who have accepted, long since, the general rule: "Identify a person by race only if his race is pertinent to the story." In recent years, while events have heightened racial sensitivities, editors have argued the question through the pages of the weekly *U.P.I. Reporter*. Below, the *Review* offers samples of these exchanges.

The U.P.I. Reporter, August 22, 1963, carried two letters on the subject. Victor Free, managing editor of the Pittsburgh Press, wrote:

It is our feeling that a press association in dealing with crime stories should make proper identification and give all important details, germane or not, and let the clients decide what to use and what not to use. . . . It is important to use race and color in cases where the criminals have not been apprehended. This procedure is followed by the police in most cities, but they also follow the same method in cases where suspects are arrested and "booked." The newspapers then use their judgment whether or not to identify those in custody.

It is our opinion that U.P.I. should furnish all information available in stories having to do with homicide, rape, riot, armed robbery and other crimes of violence. Having done this, its job is done and thereafter it is up to the editors to use, or not use, the material furnished.

The second letter was from William P. Lindley, managing editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald:

I am enclosing copy of a rape story in which the fact that the attacking group was composed of Negroes is not mentioned at all.

I submit that in a case such as this, the fact that

the men were Negroes should be mentioned. The AP did this and had a much better story all the way round.

Certainly the fact that the men were Negroes has some bearing on the way in which the story is handled — maybe you say that it should not have, but nevertheless it does.

The U.P.I. Reporter's editor, Earl J. Johnson, commented:

I agree that it is better to give the newspapers all the facts and let them decide for themselves how much to publish. However, some editors, especially those served by Teletypesetter circuits, prefer copy that requires a minimum of editing because changes made at the receiving end require the re-setting of type. Often the word "Negro" cannot be removed from a sentence without having to re-set an entire paragraph. This is an inconvenience and expense which many editors wish to avoid.

When is race pertinent and when is it not? Here are examples:

In a dispatch about a fugitive his color is pertinent and in the public interest as well. It aids the hunt.

When Navy Yeoman Drummond was sentenced on spy charges in New York last week there were two reasons why it was pertinent to identify him as a Negro: One, a Negro juror had hung the jury in a previous trial on the grounds that Drummond was being persecuted because of his race. Two, the one Negro juror in the second trial agreed Drummond had stolen classified defense documents, but held out against his conviction on the charge that he had given the papers to foreign agents.

Usually race is not germane in stories about traffic crashes. Yet when 25 farm workers are killed while riding in a truck in the South it is a fairly safe assumption that they are Negroes. Whether they are or not would be a factor in some editorial decisions as to how prominently the story should be displayed.

The controversy continued in the issue of September 5, 1963, which printed a letter from Hamilton Rigg, telegraph editor of the Tipton (Indiana) Tribune.

We are users of your Teletypesetter service and as telegraph editor favor retention of racial identifica-

tion in your stories . . . Crime statistics, juvenile and adult, support charges of color predominance in this field.

I feel sincerely that it is important for the NAACP, CORE and other groups fighting for racial equality to recognize this incidence and try to correct it so as to earn racial equality. It is also important for white leaders to recognize the predominance of colored participation in armed robbery and similar fields so that they can take steps to eliminate the conditions which lead to this participation. . . .

We believe that publication of racial identification in crime is a necessity to help correct the situation.

More than a year later, December 10, 1964, the Reporter published this letter from J. Fred Rentz, co-publisher of the New Castle (Indiana) News:

I am enclosing a clipping from our newspaper which illustrates a problem that bothers me. I have been interested in the racial problem not only in New Castle, but all across the country.

I can see the need for identifying as a Negro one who is being sought by the police. In such a case, every identifying feature certainly is helpful. However, when a suspect has already been apprehended, I see no purpose in identifying him as a Negro unless some specific racial disturbance is involved. You don't identify a person as an Italian, or a Swede, or a Greek any more, although this used to be common practice 40 years ago.

I realize we could edit the reference out of our copy, and I do plan to have our staff do this. However, this does not help the problem any in areas where the newspaper is not sensitive to the problem.

It seems to me that such a reference as was used in the enclosed story [about the capture of a murder suspect in Times Square] only serves to add fuel to a fire which is already growing too fast. . . .

This is not written in anger or in any critical fashion, but only in concern for the newspaper profession's role in race relations.

December 31, 1964, and a letter from Tom Wither-spoon, editor of the Portland (Indiana) Commercial-Review:

Re Dec. 10 U.P.I. Reporter: I think we are going overboard in our efforts to protect the American Negro. J. Fred Rentz' letter to you concerning the use of the word NEGRO in regard to crime news bothers me. I believe that American editors ought to do everything possible to speed orderly integration at all levels. But, let's face it, Negroes are Negroes and we aren't going to make them anything else when we eliminate their race from stories.

If I were a Negro, I would be proud to be called one. I would be in the integration battle and I would be fighting to win my rights. But, I would never be ashamed to have the word Negro tacked to my name in print.

My main concern as an editor is helping the reader. I believe the reader should be armed with every possible fact when he reads my paper or any other paper.

C18NY (S)

NEW YORK, DEC. 1 (AP)—A NEGRO WHO RAPED TWO WOMEN LAST MONTH WAS SEIZED EARLY TODAY, POLICE SAID.

THE ARREST CAME AFTER A RETURN VISIT TO ONE OF HIS VICTIMS, A 35-YEAR-OLD ACTRESS, WHO WAS NOT IDENTIFIED.

POLICE SAID THE MAN WAS SHEPARD CAMPBELL, 38, OF THE BRONX. HE TOLD THEM HE HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON OCT. 14. POLICE SAID HE HAS A RECORD OF 21 ARRESTS.

POLICE SAID CAMPBELL WAS IDENTIFIED BY THE ACTRESS WHOSE GREENWICH VILLAGE HOME HE BROKE INTO EARLY THIS MORNING AND BY ANOTHER WOMAN HE HAD RAPED ON NOV. 17 IN HER HOME A FEW DOORS AWAY.

TWO DETECTIVES WHO HAD A DESCRIPTION OF THE ATTACKER SPOTTED CAMPBELL ON A GREENWICH VILLAGE STREET AND FOLLOWED HIM, POLICE SAID. THEY LOST HIS TRAIL JUST BEFORE HE CLIMBED A REAR FIRE ESCAPE AND BROKE INTO THE APARTMENT OF THE ACTRESS.

AFTER A NOV. 6 ATTACK THE ACTRESS PUT A LOCK ON A FIRE ESCAPE WINDOW IN HER APARTMENT. POLICE SAID CAMPBELL, USING A SCREW DRIVER, MANAGED TO SNAP THE LOCK AND FORCE OPEN THE WINDOW EARLY THIS MORNING.

THE ACTRESS' SCREAMS ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF DETECTIVES WHO CAPTURED CAMPBELL AFTER A FIGHT IN THE HALLWAY.

JD658AES

AP New York identified arrested man by race (as well as naming him in a crime besides the one for which he was arrested). New York papers that used the story all eliminated racial identification.

The fact that a man is a Negro, or Mongolian, or white, is significant to a story. Negroes don't object to being identified in stories as a general rule, I'm sure. They certainly don't object to being so labeled when they win Nobel prizes, carry home Olympic medals, win championship fights, write great books, etc. By the same token, they shouldn't mind being labeled Negroes in relation to crime news.

Let's either be consistent with use of the word Negro or eliminate it. I'd vote for the former.

And in the issue for January 14, 1965, from Joe Felmet, chief of copy desk, Winston-Salem Journal:

An important issue to me in the controversy over using race labels is whether newspapers ought to cater to bigots.

Time and again I have observed that bigots will latch onto a passage in a news story like 'John Doe, 34, Negro . . .' to feed their prejudices with that passage and assert that it proves that Negroes are inherently criminally inclined.

In these times, when the greatest need of mankind is the achievement of brotherhood, I do not believe newspapers are justified in catering to race bigotry.

If a reader's perverted personality demands that he believe Negroes are inherently criminally inclined let him feed his prejudices by learning all the Negro street addresses and saying, "Yep, just as I thought. He lives in East Winston (our Negro community)."

Perhaps I am the less a newspaperman and the

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more an ethical man for this. But, given the choice, I would prefer to be the more an ethical man.

A dissenter answered Mr. Felmet on January 21. Arthur Sweet, editor and publisher of the Nebraska City News-Press:

For us bigots, continue to tell whether the hero or the criminal is a Negro or a white man, or a one-eyed Turk. We have some bigots on the subscription list. The ethical boys can edit it out easier than we can edit it in if we don't know.

On January 28, a letter from J. Raymond Long, managing editor of the Newport News Daily Press cheered Mr. Sweet:

Include us among the bigots for the majority of our readers and the mores of our community want to know the race of those creating the news. Much of the heinous crime news is created by those who are just doing "what comes naturally." When race is

included in a UPI story, those equalitarian evangelists who don't want it have only to stroke a pencil.

On February 16, 1965, Percy E. Sutton, representing a district in the Harlem area of New York City, introduced the following bill in the New York Assembly:

1 Section 1. The civil rights law is hereby amended by adding
2 thereto a new section, to be section forty-b, to read as follows:
3 § 40-b. *Prohibiting the description of persons accused of the*
4 *commission of a crime by describing or depicting him by race, color*
5 *or other ethnic description. No newspaper, magazine, circular or*
6 *other news media, or any other media of communication, shall*
7 *describe or depict any person accused of a crime, by race, color or*
8 *other ethnic distinction or characteristic; except that the prohibi-*
9 *tion contained in this section shall not apply if such description is*
10 *necessary for and is used solely by law enforcement officers, or at*
2
1 *their request, for the purpose of aiding in the apprehension of*
3 *particularly described and accused persons.*

A STRANGER IN ACADEMIA

By JOHN M. GOSKO

For ten months last year, I put the newsroom behind me and, armed with one of those special fellowships for journalists, went back to school. My academic detour took me to Columbia University where an ambitious Ford Foundation program annually sustains eight newsmen through a year of exploring the intricacies of international politics. It was, on form, a memorable experience. I had a good time while I was there. And now, having returned to the daily deadline, I like to flatter myself that my copy may display a depth that was missing before.

But my memories, while mostly on the mellow side, are mixed with certain nagging regrets. I went to Columbia with the conviction that the professor and the newsmen ideally should have much to offer

each other. Instead, I found most academicians reacting to me with the discomfiture of a host who wants to be polite but who can't quite comprehend his guest's language and customs. Some were quite friendly; some, a bit condescending; most, simply uneasy. Only a few had any idea that my aims were germane to the mainstream of their own activities. In the end, I came away with an awareness that scholars and journalists, who should have a complementary relationship, have somehow failed to make the connection.

This is a fact that should be of greater concern to the academic and journalistic communities than it actually is. At a time when both are hard put to discharge their obligations to a complex world, they ought to be looking for all the help they can get. Instead, the tendency among those who worry about

such things is to conclude that the necessary mutual assistance pacts are already in effect. After all, hasn't journalism gone in more and more for seeking out the views and even the bylines of the professors? And haven't the universities and foundations responded to Harvard's successful experiment with the Nieman Fellows by providing advanced study opportunities for other journalists at Columbia, Wisconsin, and elsewhere?

These trends are encouraging. But still they are what Washington bureaucrats like to call demonstration projects; they show things as they could be, not as they are. Any newsman — or academician — who has had much contact with the other camp knows that a real dialogue is yet to be.

A good description of the static that can interfere with this dialogue was provided not long ago in an article written for *The Progressive* by Stanley Meisler, a Washington newsman. Meisler, who spent a fellowship year studying political science at the University of California, started out fortified with the conviction that the "public is well served if the political scientist communicates theories to the newsman, and the newsman uses them to help him report and interpret the rush of events." What frustrated Meisler was that the professors wouldn't do this communicating — or rather they wouldn't do it on terms that he considered suitable to his needs. As a result, he wound up railing unhappily against "the spinners of jargon... who exchange formulas among each other, tell the public nothing, and earn honor and awe for their contempt."

Several academicians subsequently took Meisler to the woodshed for his unwillingness to play under the professors' ground rules. And while much of what he said was unerringly accurate, he was liable to indictment on that score. For when a newsman sits in on a graduate-level lecture or seminar, he cannot expect that it will be run according to the requirements of the mass-communications media. The burden is on him to master the specialized language and abstractions of the professor and then to adapt them to his own use. When he fails to make the necessary translations, he gives legitimacy to the professors' complaint that journalists are anti-intellectual and too quick to reduce the fine shadings of theory to a few paragraphs of oversimplification.

John M. Goshko is a State Department and diplomatic reporter for The Washington Post. Formerly, he was assistant foreign news editor. During the academic year 1963-1964 he was a fellow in Columbia University's International Reporting Program.

But to concede this does not justify the conclusion that the failure of the dialogue rests solely at journalism's door. Those who argue thus (usually the academicians) assume that the relationship must rest on rigidly defined roles: the professor as the originator of knowledge and the journalist as its popularizer. Granted, this is what each primarily is being paid to do.

Still, there are times when the roles can be profitably reversed. The good newsman, like the good scholar, is a trained researcher and analyst. He too is capable of formulating theories, of adducing new ideas, of adding to the sum of knowledge. In fact, every good piece of reporting fulfills one or more of these functions. Much of what the journalist produces in his close-up coverage of world affairs can be of great value to the scholar probing the same problems from a broader perspective. Yet there are very few academicians who can recognize good journalism or understand how to use it.

I make this assertion primarily on the basis of what I observed at Columbia. However, my colleagues with parallel experiences on other campuses are virtually unanimous in agreeing that the condition is endemic throughout the academic world. Indeed, the Columbia faculty, which has *The New York Times* as handy as the corner newsstand, is probably more aware of the press than most. If so, journalism has ample cause for complaint.

At Columbia, a typical teacher in the social sciences is diligent in his reading of the *Times* (supplemented in some cases by the *Christian Science Monitor* and an occasional magazine). Usually, his course reading lists will impose a similar requirement on his students. But having done this, he seems to feel that he has drained the stream of journalism. Of the outpouring from the rest of the mass media, he knows almost nothing. What he doesn't know, he scorns.

Occasionally, the more kindly of my professors would make what was intended as a bow in my direction and allow that of course the *Times* was not the only "good" newspaper in America. But to ask these well-intentioned gentlemen which additional newspapers they consulted with regularity was only to court mutual embarrassment. There would be a moment of hemming and hawing, and then would come the excuses. They found that the "really good" out-of-town papers were hard to come by; all their spare reading time was taken up with trying to stay abreast of the scholarly literature; they felt that the *Times* was quite adequate for their normal needs.

And so it went. The specialist in a given area — say Germany, to cite an example at random — felt quite confident that a careful combing of the *Times*

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each morning would keep him well abreast of what was happening there. Had he looked a little further, at the Baltimore *Sun* or *The Washington Post* for example, he would have found a trove of additional German coverage to balance and amplify the distinguished reporting in the *Times*. The State Department knows this and gears its reading habits accordingly. So does the German Foreign Ministry. However, I have yet to meet an academic expert on Western Europe — at Columbia or elsewhere — of whom the same can be said.

What is true of German coverage also applies to all other points in the broad spectrum of international and domestic politics. The *Times*, no matter how able its efforts, cannot tell the whole story. Somewhere, there is another newspaper (or magazine or television report) with that additional fact or nuance that might make the pieces of the scholar's puzzle fall into place. The failure to seek them out is the failure of scholarship.

Nor is this the whole story. If the professor is blandly indifferent to the newsman's daily dispatches, he is downright hostile toward journalism's more ambitious efforts. Nothing can bring the word "journalistic" dropping scornfully from an academician's lips more quickly than the suggestion that a newsman could write a book for the classroom.

To be sure, many such books are worthy of the epithet in its most unflattering sense. Too often, they are superficial, uninformed, or slapped together to cash in on a "hot" situation — the sort of thing that has been described as the "boy bureau chief in Algeria" school of writing. But there also are many able, thoughtful journalists who have something of value to put between hard covers. Yet the professors make no effort to distinguish between the two.

I well recall one professor, a man whose name is a household word among political scientists, describing to our seminar the books on his recommended reading list. As he came to one title, he paused and apologized for its inclusion with the remark that it was "rather journalistic but the only thing available on the subject." Later, I asked what he had meant. After reflecting a moment, he replied that he had found it "a bit too well written."

The example admittedly is an extreme one. But it is indicative of that tendency among academicians (pinpointed by Meisler) to discount the seriousness

of work not couched in social-scientific language.

Those professors on whom I have tried to press any rebuttal usually reply that I am missing the point. The essence of true scholarship, they say, is to systematize (a favorite word) a given body of knowledge. Journalistic writing, this argument continues, does not fit the mold because it concentrates on retelling facts already familiar to scholars.

To show the depth of this misconception:

Most of my time at Columbia was devoted to the study of Latin American affairs. Now this is a subject in which it is impossible to spend much time without becoming aware of the work done by Tad Szulc, Latin American specialist of *The New York Times*. Less than a decade ago, when Latin America occupied a low priority in the attention span of both the State Department and the American press, Szulc carried much of the burden of depth reporting from the scene. In fact, today his dispatches are recognized by scholars, diplomats, and journalists as one of the most important indexes to what was happening in Latin America during that period.

A few years ago, Szulc wrote a book entitled *Twilight of the Tyrants*, a study of five South American military dictators. The latter chapters, which cover the ousting of Rojas Pinilla in Colombia and Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, involve stories that Szulc covered at first hand and which he probably knows as well as any living man. Yet, although my professors laid constant stress on the importance of these events, not one considered Szulc's account worthy of mention in their reading lists.

Certainly journalism's output is worthy of more notice. I personally can cite a dozen or more titles by newsmen that could be read with profit by students of foreign affairs. I am also certain that my colleagues who cover other subjects could swell the list with their own nominations. But it's doubtful that the professors would entertain such a suggestion with anything other than condescension.

So long as they don't, both journalism and scholarship will be the losers. Journalism is the poorer because the efforts of its best minds are not being used where they could make a contribution. Scholarship is poorer still because the blind spot of those who are its licensed practitioners denies it the use of a versatile tool for the carving out of new knowledge.

It would seem then that the professors, who can be most articulate in counting the sins of journalism against them, are not the only aggrieved party. They are quite correct in insisting that the two professions will never be of much help to each other until journalism learns to treat scholarship with respect. At the same time, however, reciprocity would be in order.

New books from old news

Newspaper and magazine publishers have flocked into the book business, some publishing "instant" books on the heels of news events, some reconstituting old news between covers, some developing new material to be offered to readers. Below, reviewers report on part of the current output.

CHURCHILL: THE LIFE TRIUMPHANT. The Historical Record of Ninety Years. Compiled by American Heritage Magazine and United Press International. American Heritage, New York. \$3.50.

CHURCHILL IN MEMORIAM. Written and edited by the staff of *The New York Times*. Bantam Books, New York. \$75.

THE UNFORGETTABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL: GIANT OF THE CENTURY. By the editors of *Life*. Time, Inc., New York. \$1.95.

Winston Churchill, like King Arthur or the first Queen Elizabeth or George Washington, is a myth of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The myth, if not the man, lives on in three superbly executed books put out by *The New York Times*, *American Heritage* in collaboration with United Press International, and *Life*, all within weeks of his death. All three outline the Churchill legend and quote the words and phrases with which he moved his people and his world. Both *Life* and *American Heritage* enrich their books with beautiful color reproductions.

The New York Times and *Life* present basic factual accounts of the great man's career. In the former, Raymond Daniell and Kenneth Campbell concentrate on the period of Churchill's life with which we are most familiar — his leadership of his country during World War II and his later career. But they also summarize earlier events in his life, including the well-known stories of his failures in school, his ex-

ploits as an officer and war correspondent, and his maverick political career. The *Life* account, besides being somewhat better written, is almost entirely chronological and therefore better balanced. The *Times* paperback includes the news stories about his death as well as quotations from his "wit and wisdom."

Perhaps the best account of Churchill's life among the three is that by a *Time* senior editor, Henry Anatole Grunwald, in the *Heritage*-UPI production. (Fortunately, the competitive scramble has not prevented a good man from working for an opposition house.) While repeating the same stories, Grunwald has written what amounts to an appreciative essay of Churchill's career. "In a sense beyond the confines of regions or continents," Grunwald concludes, "he was a man, and he was of the West." The *American Heritage* book is the most costly of the three and probably the best buy. It is the only one that appears between hard covers; it includes the best selection of quotations both by and about the man. The photographs in both the *Life* and the *Heritage* productions cover Sir Winston's life and times from boyhood to death. They are stunning.

If the books display startling journalistic and graphic skill, however, they still are essentially superficial in character. They do little more than embellish the old stories and myths with fancy language and pictures. They appear at times to be the ultimate in admiring propaganda. They will please the Anglo-Saxonized reader with an idle hour to kill; they

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should be a special delight to children and teenagers. They will not satisfy the skeptic or the historian bent on seeking a deeper meaning in the life of the man who embodied the last flame of British imperialism.

DONALD KIRK

A REPORT IN DEPTH ON LATIN AMERICA. By Edwin A. Roberts, Jr. Published by The National Observer as a Newsbook. \$2.

This is an informed, clearly written, and well illustrated volume. Mr. Roberts has condensed much experience, travel, and personal contact into these two hundred pages. It requires much skill to crowd so much material about so many different countries and special subjects in limited space (four to eight pages per country) and yet leave the reader with a sense of the individuality of each nation. He devotes the first 80 pages to eight separate themes: The Latin Americas; Cuba As It Is; Communism in the Continent and a Half; The Alliance: What It is and Why; The Alliance: What It's Doing and How; Latin Politics; and Latin Economics. Of these the section on Cuba and Latin Politics are the most interesting. One need not agree with the author to recognize that he has a feeling for the hard, though often intangible, realities in Latin American politics.

The rest of the volume is given over to short chapters on fifteen separate countries plus one on Central America. In addition there are treatments of the sugar, bananas, and coffee so important in the Latin American economy, and one graphic page on the proposed routes for a new canal between the Atlantic and Pacific. These thumbnail sketches are good and the pieces on Chile and Venezuela especially so. The hundred pictures are well chosen to give the reader a sense of the variety and complexity of the Latin American scene and its problems.

On the whole, Mr. Roberts remains quite objective and, even where the reader believes the author to be in the wrong, he will have to admit that this is a good deal more than just a commendable performance in journalism.

FRANK TANNENBAUM

PORTRAIT OF A DECADE: THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Anthony Lewis and *The New York Times*. Random House, New York. \$6.95.

One may doubt whether news dispatches — even dispatches by men as able as *New York Times* correspondents, on a subject as epochal as the civil rights revolution — can be shaped into historical literature.

But Anthony Lewis has put together a readable and valuable document. Mr. Lewis has contributed three original chapters and countless connecting sections and transitions, which help to give perspective.

The strength of *Portrait of a Decade* lies in the dispatches from his colleagues. Their names and the stories they covered sound almost like a war-time honor roll:

George Barrett at Clinton, Tennessee, 1956; Wayne Phillips at Montgomery, 1956; Benjamin Fine and Cabell Phillips at Little Rock, 1957; Hedrick Smith at Albany, Georgia, 1962; Foster Hailey in Harlem, 1964.

There should be a special word of admiration for Claude Sitton, who until last year was the *Times*' southern regional correspondent. (He is now national news editor.) For seven years Sitton spent most of his life getting in and out of shabby hotels, cafes, chartered airplanes, and rented cars trying to cover a story that was breaking across a ten-state area in a hundred different ways. That Sitton is represented by sixteen of the thirty-eight reportorial pieces is proof enough of his mastery of the story, his skill, and his stamina.

ROGER MUDD

The bold ones

THEY WILL BE HEARD: AMERICA'S CRUSADING NEWSPAPER EDITORS. By Jonathan Daniels. McGraw-Hill, New York. \$6.50.

Forty years ago a generation of future newspaper editors were cutting their teeth on Oswald Garrison Villard's *Some Newspapers and Newspaper-Men*. He had invented a new critical genre. In a series of essays he took apart and examined the contemporary American press, or at least its more conspicuous units. He wrote of the *Times* and its Mr. Ochs, of the special province of Hearst, of the *World* of Mr. Pulitzer, of Frank A. Munsey, and of a dozen others.

But that book was itself journalism, which is to say that it dealt in actualities. It has long since lost its

immediacy, though it is still a valuable source book. There is no such book I know of today that can be put in the hands of a beginning newspaperman with the recommendation: "This is the contemporary press, both the body and its prime-movers."

Until one comes along, Jonathan Daniels provides a welcome substitute. He has done the job vertically, or chronologically, rather than horizontally. This is an account of the crusading spirit in American journalism traced in biographical sketches that stretch all the way back to the seventeenth century Benjamin Harris of Boston and the Palatine immigrant John Peter Zenger. The quality of the writing falls short of Villard's and there is more dependence on secondary sources. But as bait for young newspapermen, dangling the lure which has always drawn men of brains and courage and conviction into an often-shoddy occupation, it may be better. It may have a longer shelf-life.

Many of his subjects are the obvious ones: Edes and Gill of Boston Tea Party times, the combative William Duane of Philadelphia, Elijah Lovejoy, Greeley, Pulitzer I, William Allen White, Fremont Older. More are unfamiliar except to those who have dug a bit in newspaper history: the flamboyant San Franciscan, James King of William; a half dozen of southern duellers; the unflamboyant George Jones who emerged out of the business office of the pre-Ochs *Times* to give fits to the Tammany tiger; Pulitzer's brilliant editor Cockerill who had so much to do with the rise of both the *Post-Dispatch* and the *World* (and in a well-done chapter Daniels argues that the man who doomed the New York *World* was really the same man who made it great, Joseph Pulitzer); Edmund Ruffin, as brave in defense of slavery as was Lovejoy in opposition.

It is a fascinating roll-call. These were the practitioners of that "personal journalism" so often mourned as a thing of the past and called a kind of

journalism not compatible with the institutionalized press of these days. But a curious thing about this personal journalism, Daniels insists, is that it has always been "about to disappear," yet its death has never been certified. Its disappearance was being deplored as long ago as the death of Horace Greeley in 1872. But none other than Charles A. Dana of the New York *Sun*, himself a qualified exponent of that kind of journalism, dismissed such keening as "twaddle."

"Whenever," he said, "a man rises up who is original, strong and bold enough to make his opinions a matter of consequence to the public, there will be personal journalism; and whenever newspapers are conducted only by commonplace individuals whose views are of no consequence to anybody, there will be nothing but impersonal journalism."

Which is the myth, which the truth? To me the question is not so simple as Dana made it out to be.

To begin with, the views of commonplace individuals can be of great consequence to the public, merely by the fact of their massive duplication and iteration. We see this all the time in the firestorms of overemphasis of a factor or momentarily popular point of view that are constantly sweeping through the press, fed by commonplace men pouring rivers of copy to the type-setters and tape-setters, and the equally consequential neglect or understatement of other facts and points of view. Let us not agree with Dana that the commonplace newspaperman in charge of his powerful engine of communication is of no consequence to the public. He is of baleful consequence. Nor let us fall for the notion that all a newspaperman needs is originality, strength, and boldness.

It is closer to the truth, I think, to say that the emergence of an effective crusading editor is by no means impossible, and that "personal journalism" in the accepted sense is not dead, but that it always depends upon a lucky combination of circumstances. The man of originality, strength, and boldness is the first essential, of course, but not the only one. John Peter Zenger could set up a print shop with £75 or £100 and a cause. Something like that can still be done with the equivalent in today's money, with a shot of luck, and a scaling-down of the crusading.

And occasionally, at the other extreme, the right conjunction of ownership, business management, and the man can bend the big-business press to the uses of personal journalism.

But the best chance for its survival lies probably with the middle-size press where the fact of family ownership is mated to a strong tradition of public responsibility and where the right combination of genes and upbringing — nature and nurture — keep the raw material of crusading editors coming along.

The reviewers:

Donald Kirk is on leave from CBS to study in Columbia's Advanced International Reporting Program.

Roger Mudd covered the 1964 Civil Rights Bill debate for CBS.

Frank Tannenbaum, historian of Latin America, is currently director of university seminars at Columbia.

Philip Wagner is editor emeritus of the Baltimore Sun.

Louis M. Starr and *Richard T. Baker* are members of the Columbia journalism faculty.

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Do I invoke the aristocratic principle? Well, maybe, though without excluding the other avenues to crusading editorship.

I am thinking, in other words, of papers like the Raleigh *News and Observer*, which has the name of Daniels written all over it. And if you say that such a combination of circumstances as I have described is too rare to count on, that the odds are too long, I can only reply that any odds are better than none, and that the number of really great crusading editors in all our history has not been so very large either.

PHILIP WAGNER

Apostrophe to apostrophes

THE A B C OF STYLE. By Rudolf Flesch. Harper & Row, New York. \$4.95.

For all writers who are tempted to arrogance, pomposity, and verbosity, Dr. Flesch has provided a useful corrective. But in his zeal to simplify expression, he over-simplifies and leaves far behind the legitimacy that belongs to him for his original readability studies. It seems to us that he has become somewhat arbitrary and dogmatic.

This volume is a self-indexing guide to language usage and points of grammar. For example, if you are tempted to use the word *lacuna*, you can turn to L, find *lacuna* and be advised that it is "an unnecessary Latin word." Use *gap*. Thus through 300 pages.

Allowing for some lacunae (use *gaps*) in Dr. Flesch's total message, the accent is on a kind of limited-vocabulary, basic, rudimentary English—plain and clear. He responds not at all to the fun and games of a luxuriant language.

Dr. Flesch likes the spoken language, with its snap, its contractions, its straining against the leash of convention. If you write as you speak, he approves. Apostrophes are punctuation indicators of this chatty, informal style. "It's a good style rule to use as many apostrophes as possible," he says. What other help do you need?

RICHARD T. BAKER

Authorized version

THE THIN GOLD WATCH: A Personal History of the Newspaper Copleys. By Walter S. J. Swanson. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$7.95.

The Copley newspapers, five in Illinois, ten in Southern California (the largest being the *Union* and *Tribune* in San Diego) may not stand at the head of the class, but despite their dogged conservatism, they do try. The Copley News Service, with about fifteen men who roam the world, and Latin America in particular, offers evidence that the concern is willing to put money on the line in order to enhance editorial content.

Presumably few Copley editors would truck with a piece of puffery submitted by some public relations man about his client, even if the client were an advertiser. Why, then, did the head man sanction a book like this one? The answer, one gathers, is that James S. Copley thinks of books as some men think of portraits.

In a memorable speech to journalism educators a few years back, Allan Nevins made the point that the historical literature of journalism is cluttered with works of this ilk. Surely newspaper publishers should cultivate the same respect for the printed word on book paper that they profess for it on newsprint. If a volume is to be commissioned, let the publisher engage a first-rate historian to do the task honestly.

The pity of it is that the Copley story has possibilities. Ira C. Copley built a lucrative business for himself in natural gas utilities in and around Aurora, Illinois, and in 1905 bought the *Aurora Beacon*. He managed to mix gas with newspapers for two decades, finally disposing of his utility in 1926. The California newspaper purchases followed in 1928.

Having lost his own children in infancy, Copley bravely adopted two boys from an orphanage and raised them in newspapering. James, the elder of the two, accepted his father's orthodoxies. William moved eventually to Paris, whence he sent back articles that were sufficiently heretical to provoke prefatory disclaimers from the management.

The senior Copley had left his estate equally to the two. William sought to compel the sale of the newspapers in a suit that is never satisfactorily explained herein, and in 1959 settled for \$10,000,000-plus. One is curious to know William, but he does not emerge from these pages. What does emerge, from a grab-bag of information that is half historical and half promotional, is a cloying picture of the boss, by one of his employees.

LOUIS M. STARR

REPORT ON REPORTS

The following are summaries and reviews of articles and other current material dealing with subjects in journalism. They were prepared by the Review's editor with assistance from the editorial staff.

Reporter's defense

"Getting the Story in Viet Nam," by David Halberstam. *Commentary*, January, 1965.

The best-known of the cluster of correspondents once dubbed "the young crusaders," David Halberstam, now in Warsaw, sets down in this article an account of his upstream year in Viet Nam. In a sense, it is his statement of defense against the charge that he and his fellows were playing anti-American politics. In passing, he gives details of the infighting among journalists — Alsop, Higgins, *et al.* against the New Breed — and the background of *Time's* "staggering" indictment of the Halberstam group. Halberstam concludes: "The pessimism of the Saigon press corps was of the most reluctant kind: many of us came to love Viet Nam, we saw our friends dying all around us, and we would have liked nothing better than to believe that the war was going well and that it would eventually be won. But it was impossible for us to believe those things without denying the evidence of our own senses." The article is based on a portion of a book by Halberstam (published in April).

Prescription for rearment

"Journalism and the Cold War," by Eugene H. Methvin. *The Quill*, January, 1965.

After years of being scoured because they were presumably heating up the Cold War, American journalists are told in this article that they have been too indifferent to it. Methvin, a member of the *Reader's Digest* Washington bureau, writes that "the professional practitioners in our communications media are not generally equipped to recognize communist-inspired violence, deception and psychopolitical manipulation and to adequately 'background

the news' on thousands of complex cold war skirmishes being fought daily around the globe."

Among the backgrounds missed:

President Kennedy's assassination: "The lesson Oswald so eloquently teaches is that inflammatory communist propaganda can kill. Yet reporting on the sociology and psychology of communist organizational and psychological warfare is generally distinguished chiefly by its shallowness."

Anti-CIA campaign: "The Red strategist's problem . . .: How to activate the opposition? The answer is the simple stratagem of throwing the spotlight of publicity on the issue and draw the target group's attention to it. Such has been the nature of the Soviet campaign to discredit the CIA and undermine public confidence in it . . . Nikita Khrushchev's seemingly casual remarks on his 1959 tour of the United States about the CIA set this strategy of exposure rolling."

The gap in journalism education: "The history of Soviet psychological warfare and policy sabotage through such operations as the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Harry Dexter White-Alger Hiss interlocking subversion rings should be as much a part of the equipment of every journalist as the John Peter Zenger trial and the Hearst role in the Spanish-American war."

Methvin proposes a Sigma Delta Chi committee on education about communism, which would "stick to facts." "Not conjecture," he writes, "not speculation, not propounding dogma, not prescribing remedies or telling journalists how to practice their profession."

Just the facts.

Time, without passion

"LUCE: The First Tycoon and the Power of His Press," by John Kobler. *Saturday Evening Post*, January 16, 1965.

Comparison is inevitable between this new study of Henry R. Luce and its illustrious predecessor, the *Time*-style profile that Wolcott Gibbs wrote for *The New Yorker* in 1936. In those days, *Time Inc.*, was

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young and brash, a young tough in American journalism that demanded rebuke for its indiscretions, and Gibbs gave Luce and his publications a classic de-pantsing.

Now Time Inc. is past forty and the age of the parodying humorist in magazines has given way to the age of fact-masser (even in *The New Yorker*). Kobler here has been thorough, even to the point of describing minutely the Time Inc.-*New Yorker* tussle that preceded publication of the Gibbs profile. His article covers fourteen *Post*-size pages, and while he pulls no punches he adds so much mitigating circumstance that the article comes out admirably balanced and possibly even a little bland.

Kobler appears to appreciate both the uniqueness and achievement of Luce, who emerges from the pages a larger-than-life-size figure along the lines of *Citizen Kane*. The material on the Luce magazines is somewhat less interesting than the biography. Kobler retails old criticisms of *Time* and family, and passes a few mild current judgments.

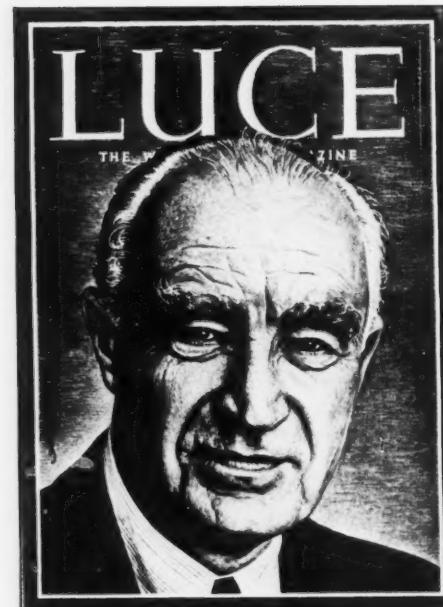
Kobler clearly did his research well, but maybe it was too late. "Luce" is not the fighting word it once was. Had this article been printed in 1952, the storm might still be swirling around it. Today, it must be regarded simply as workmanlike journalism.

Negative quantity

"What TV is Doing to Our Children," by Wilbur Schramm. UNESCO Courier, February, 1965.

The somewhat threatening tone of the title is not supported in the text of this article by Stanford's research director. It is a dispassionate survey of research in many countries, written in connection with Dr. Schramm's editing of a UNESCO bibliography on the subject. Neither alarmists nor apologists will find full support in the summary; Dr. Schramm finds that television is often a negative quantity in children's lives, despite the tremendous amounts of time (comparable to half or more of time in school) spent watching. But often, maladjustments — passivity, poor study habits, weak family relationships — sometimes attributed to television must be laid to other, deeper causes.

On one subject of controversy — the question of the effects of portrayed violence — Dr. Schramm dis-



Artzybasheff's Luce, for Saturday Evening Post

poses of one theory used to comfort those who schedule crime and blood in children's viewing hours. This is the "safety-valve" idea that children with aggressive tendencies will be relieved of them by watching violence acted out on television. Research shows that this idea is wrong — that in fact unfrustrated children can watch violence without any particular reaction, but that children tending toward aggression will simply be built up to a higher pitch.

Dr. Schramm's hope for the future is simple enough. He deplores the fact that an effective teacher like television has actually taught so little. He thinks non-entertainment programs could be made more interesting. And perhaps, he adds, "we need to study how taste is formed, so that instead of narrowing our children's taste around a certain level of entertainment we can broaden their television interest and encourage them to use television when possible as a window on the world rather than as a momentary escape from the stresses of growing up."

The critical landscape

"U.S. Breed of Local Critics," Variety, February 24 and March 10, 1965.

The show-business weekly prints, in its own garulous style, compilations on the state of film and television criticism in metropolitan areas outside New

York, three dozen in all. Its summary contains a number of notable conclusions:

¶ Critics appear to learn their business on the job, and once settled tend to hold their jobs for life.

¶ Television and film reviews seem to be reaching an approximate standoff in competition for space, but there is increasing pressure from the "longhair concert."

¶ Some of the hardest-hitting critics are not reviewers at all, but local columnists.

¶ The toughest papers—that is, those least vulnerable to puffery—are likely to be found in single-ownership newspaper cities.

¶ Many cities of good size have no local critics at all, and exhibitors never ask for one.

¶ Only a minority of dailies pay the freight for amusement editors and critics when a junket is in sight, and most editors and critics still accept the free ride.

Stix Crix Take Tix.

ETV, viewed sourly

"Educational TV: The Timid Crusaders," by Richard M. Elman. *The Nation*, March 1, 1965.

This is a most thorough excoriation of educational-cultural (as opposed to educational-instructive) television, and especially of the brand of public-affairs programming produced by the National Educational Television network. Elman even puts forth what for many in ETV must be the ultimate condemnation: that NET's men are "less intelligent, less sophisticated, and indeed much less courageous than their commercial colleagues."

Elman lays timidity to NET's unhealthy complex of relationships with such sponsoring organizations as the Ford Foundation (its founder), the national Establishments in such fields as education and foreign affairs, and local pressures on affiliates. He takes particular aim at the consultants used by NET, which, he says, invariably are *status quo* organizations. Not only have these relationships prevented intellectually challenging programming, he contends, but they have excluded the public at large: "Unlike the commercial networks which must constantly check their ratings . . . N.E.T. feels no obligation to reflect the public's concern. It believes it knows what is significant to the American people."

Elman, drawing in part on his own experiences as a contract writer for NET, offers considerable documentation of his charges. He is less specific in suggesting remedies. NET, he writes, must "find a massive base of support by providing the kind of service

the public needs; and it must be willing to suffer the consequences of its actions. Such a service cannot be administered from the top down; it must be a form of journalism, not mere pedagogy . . ."

ETV, viewed mathematically

ONE WEEK OF EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, Number 3, April 19-25, 1964. The Morse Communication Research Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

At the opposite pole from Elman's heated analysis is this statistical study, third in a series, describing precisely the program categories appearing on educational television in a test week. The 95-page document covers eighty-eight stations on the air a year ago. Findings include:

¶ The average ETV station was on the air a little more than forty-two hours a week (as against a commercial-station average of nearly 115 hours a week).

¶ Roughly half of the programming was directed at a general rather than an instructional audience.

¶ The National Educational Television network provided 48 per cent of the general programs, supplying material to all but six stations.

¶ News and public affairs programs occupied 13 per cent of broadcast time, but only nineteen of the stations carried daily news programs.

The study also cautiously discerns a trend—that educational television is trying to broaden its audience through special programs for such groups as women or businessmen, and through such quasi-commercial programs as feature films and sports. The report also notes the rise of a professional seminars and "brush-up" courses for teacher, lawyers, or doctors.

Occasionally, the study seems to be expending much effort on what seem—by comparison with commercial efforts—minuscule changes. But the small scale of ETV is a financial and social fact. As Louis G. Cowan, director of the center, puts it in his foreword:

"Behind the material and the quantitative charts and tables assembled here lurks a quivering dollar sign. It is of no small interest to researchers that the year that witnessed the greatest financial profits yet in all broadcasting is also one that found a few ETV stations close to bankruptcy, and some forced to curtail operations . . . broadcasting in this nation exists on two levels. A number of ETV broadcasters keep referring to the fact that one company, alone, reported broadcast advertising expenditures for the past year of four times the amount available for all educational television. They ask: 'Why?'"

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The Digest responds

The winter, 1965, issue of the *Review* contained an article analyzing public-affairs articles in the *Reader's Digest* over the last twenty-two years. Because the article contained serious criticism of the *Digest's* credibility, proofs of the article were shown to the *Digest* before publication for that magazine's response, or correction in matters of fact. The *Digest* did not respond for twenty-three days, by which time the *Review* was off the press. The *Digest* thereupon requested that distribution of the *Review* be halted while further research was done on the subjects in the article. This request was turned down, and the *Review* offered the *Digest* the opportunity to respond in this issue. The executive editor of the *Digest*, Hobart Lewis, asked that the following statement be published:

TO THE REVIEW:

In his "Report on the Reader's *Digest*" in your winter issue, Professor Reo M. Christenson, of Miami University (Ohio), makes a number of totally unsupported and irresponsible charges about the accuracy and scrupulousness of *Reader's Digest* authors and editors.

We do not object when Professor Christenson renders his own interpretation of *Reader's Digest* philosophy, either political or social. Here he is working in the area of opinion, and he is fully entitled to do so, even though we cannot agree with his conclusions. But, in his attempt to take the *Digest* to task for various of its articles about federal government agencies, he is guilty of what seems to be an almost total lack of independent factual research.

In the two cases where he purports to provide any documentation of his charges at all, he naively parrots the so-called "fact sheets" handed out by the government agencies in their own defense. At

no time, it appears, did he consult with original information sources or with the original authors, or make himself aware of the *Digest's* exhaustive research-checking procedures or of its point-by-point answers to a number of the government's "fact sheets." To say that these government handouts are self-serving is to underestimate the case to an extreme. To offer them as journalistic "evidence," as Professor Christenson does, is scarcely "analytical reporting."

HOBART LEWIS

MR. CHRISTENSON REPLIES:

First, I am happy that the *Columbia Journalism Review* extended a rebuttal opportunity to the *Digest*, which the latter does not extend to its critics.

The *Digest* has never taken kindly to criticism from any source, and Mr. Lewis's letter is in keeping with this tradition. Contrary to his assertion, however, I did not naively reply upon government agency "fact sheets," although my article says I made use of them. Many of the specific agency counter-attacks were set aside because they could not be adequately sustained. Those used were based on facts which no government agency would dare falsify, or were supported by independent research. I am confident that the article will bear up under the most rigorously objective scrutiny, while conceding that some statistics presented in its main body are subject to minor variations, depending on the criteria of the researcher.

It is interesting to note that while the *Digest* complains about a failure to consult its staff, the agencies involved in the case studies have reported that *Digest* editors made no effort to consult them prior to publication of the *Digest* attacks. Moreover, the *Digest* has failed to point out a single factual error in my article.

It should be added that a press release similar to Mr. Lewis's letter was sent by the *Digest* on February

4 to publications that might otherwise have been inclined to comment on the article.

For page-one ads

TO THE REVIEW:

"Never too late," says a note in the *Passing Comment* department of the winter, 1965, issue of the *Review*. "After years of cluttering their front pages with display advertising, the Boston *Herald-Traveller* and the *Sunday Herald* have decided to devote page one to news. They are welcome to the twentieth century."

I am one who cannot be reconciled to the notion that a first page free of advertising is equated with good journalism or with comfortable existence in the twentieth century. The point of view expressed in the quoted sentences seems to me to represent the triumph of conformity over initiative, or form over substance, and of ritual over realism.

A visitor whose knowledge of newspapers ought to be fairly thorough said to me, "Surely you have room for that advertising inside." In his mind, advertising on the first page was bad; nothing remained to be said, just as there is nothing to be said in favor of sin.

He had not noticed, or if he had noticed, he attached no significance to the fact that the *Vineyard Gazette* devotes an unusually large proportion of its total space to news; the ratio, time and again, is 70 per cent news to 30 per cent advertising, and this has been going on for more than forty years.

We do have room inside the paper for advertising now on the first page; but this would mean cutting the news and editorial content of the paper drastically.

I am sure that any educated journalist (and I do not here mean experienced newspaperman, because there is a vast difference) will continue to look at our first

page and rule us out of the twentieth century, and will never note the entirety of the service we give our readers, or the freedom we attain in reporting and writing the news, or think it worth while to inquire into our economics or our professional standards. Sin is sin, and so is first page advertising.

Is it preferable to print advertising on the first page, or to keep the first page strictly for news matter at a sacrifice of service to readers? I ask the question, but I don't care a damn what the answer is, because we threw the books away long ago, we do as we please, and we intend to continue doing so.

I might add that in decades past I have examined the front pages of hundreds of newspapers and found a vast quantity of material that no one in his right mind could possibly give a hoot in hell about reading.

HENRY BEETLE HOUGH
Co-editor
Vineyard Gazette
Edgartown, Massachusetts

Broadcasters slighted

TO THE REVIEW:

After reading the article "How Detroit's Newspapers Set The Blackout Record" by Barbara Stanton in your winter, 1965, edition, I am at a loss to understand how you can publish a statement of policy on your inside cover and then just four pages later you publish Miss Stanton's article which makes a joke of your policy statement, especially the part which commits you to "... speak out for what is right, fair, and decent."

In Miss Stanton's sixth paragraph, she unashamedly and boldly makes the totally inaccurate statement that Detroit's newspaper blackout "... severed sellers and buyers, candidates and constituents, governors and governed. City and county officials raised their salaries unreported, voters forgot how to register, parents did not know when school opened, and nobody told homeowners the holiday schedule for garbage pickups."

After Miss Stanton refused to acknowledge the existence of elec-

tronic journalism in Detroit, she wrote the following on page 8: "Without its editorial columns to clobber or clap for candidates, the *Free Press* issued a press release endorsing its choice for the November 3 election — Governor Romney and President Johnson." To whom did they hand their press release? It must have been handed to a strange, unknown medium—because radio and television do not exist in Detroit, according to Miss Stanton.

I suggest that you re-assess your statement of policy which clearly states "... to assess the performance of journalism IN ALL ITS FORMS, to call attention to its shortcomings and strength..."

PAUL MILLER
Station manager
WCKY
Cincinnati

EDITORS' REPLY: The *Review* stands on its record of covering all forms of journalism. The judgments expressed by Miss Stanton were those of a reporter on the scene, not necessarily those of the *Review's* editors.

Gulf protests

TO THE REVIEW:

In the fall, 1964, issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* there occurred the one-paragraph statement: "Gulf Oil has put a blemish on its splendid record of sponsoring 'instant news specials' by bowing out, for the second time, on a program dealing with racial problems. It should be noted, however, that there were no other takers."

As far as I know, this misleading item first appeared in *Variety*, and as far as I know it was not checked by them with either NBC or Gulf, nor did you check it when you decided to pick it up.

The facts are that the programs mentioned here were not offered to Gulf by NBC, and therefore there never was any question of whether Gulf would sponsor them or not.

Our arrangement with NBC provides for sponsorship of what

have been termed "Instant News Specials," and the nearest we can get to what an Instant News Special should be is to define it as dealing with an event that is dominating the headlines of the day on which the program is offered. Obviously, such an arrangement requires a great deal of flexibility, and there are occasions when for one reason or another programs which might classify as Instant News Specials are put on without being offered to us.

It also follows that a program, while it may be in the news, is sufficiently delayed that it does not qualify as an Instant News Special. Instant News automatically covers, of course, all categories of news and, up to a certain specified expenditure per quarter, Gulf is pretty much obligated to take any program NBC offers, so long as it comes within a reasonable distance of the definition of Instant News.

As for the reasons why NBC did not offer us the two programs in question, I simply do not know. We have sponsored programs dealing with racial and civil rights events in the past, and possibly will in the future, but we must do so with a certain amount of circumspection simply because as a corporation engaged in retail operation in thirty-seven states it would be poor business to become identified as a company with anything that could be called or might be interpreted as "special pleading." There are lots of gray areas here, as I believe you will appreciate, and our concern is to avoid the appearance of crusading for one side or the other, even though in all of its aspects Gulf fully qualifies as an equal opportunity employer.

CRAIG THOMPSON
Director of public relations
Gulf Oil Corporation
Pittsburgh

EDITORS' REPLY: The programs referred to by Mr. Thompson were "The American Revolution of '63," a three-hour program broadcast on September 2, 1963; and "Harlem: Test for the North," broadcast on July 26, 1964. *Variety* for July 29, 1964,

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said that Gulf "took French leave" from sponsorship of the latter and that Gulf had first refusal on the 1963 program. Technically speaking, neither program was an "Instant News Special," for neither covered events occurring that same day.

The *Review* regrets its error. However, it also finds regrettable Gulf's position that it must exercise "circumspection" regarding the subject matter of any news or public-affairs broadcast or that Gulf regards any news broadcast, by implication, as "special pleading." Such a position, if maintained, seems certain over the long run to inhibit the range of broadcast coverage.

Unfair to magazines

TO THE REVIEW:

May I take exception to the "Survey Sample: General Magazines" in the winter issue of the *Review*? The tone of your introduction to the "survey" of three "general monthlies" implies that you have made a deep and thorough study of the situation and have arrived at carefully thought-out conclusions. But the "surveys" themselves are only samplings of one issue of each of the three magazines represented.

In the case of *Cosmopolitan* you were fortunate in picking up a fairly typical sample—and a good one. In the case of *Pageant* you happened to pick up a rather specialized issue devoted largely to a memorial section for President Kennedy. In the case of *Redbook* you picked up an issue which, being December, is hardly typical, since most monthlies in our field devote so much of their December issues to "Christmas" feature material. As a result none of the magazines got their just dues.

It is interesting that for *Redbook's* circulation you picked up

an average figure in a year during which we raised our guarantee to 4,000,000, but for *Redbook's* content you made no attempt to average the material published during that same year.

This kind of sampling is journalistic to be sure but its relation to fact is not quite so sure. And it is especially distorted in view of your introduction which reverberates with history, promising much. You might at least have held to the title of the article and recognized that you were reporting on a small sampling (one-twelfth of a year). Instead, you left many readers, I am sure, with the feeling that you had accomplished something which, indeed you had not.

SEY CHASSLER
Editor
Redbook
New York

EDITORS' REPLY: The *Review* cannot agree that a description of a magazine's contents is unfair to the magazine. However, a single issue could be too small a slice.

Where to sell

TO THE REVIEW:

The "Report on the Reader's Digest" in your winter, 1965, issue seems a fair analysis, as was the piece on *Esquire* in the fall, 1964, number, but I do not understand

Absent Lippmann

In the fall issue, Ben Bagdikian's study of columnists listed the *New Bedford Standard-Times* as not carrying Walter Lippmann during a period under study in 1959. In the winter issue, the paper said it had carried Lippmann. Further investigation by both parties reveals the paper carried Lippmann during the fall of 1959, but not during the week sampled by Mr. Bagdikian's clipping service, because the columnist was out of the country.

what purpose is served by the capsule surveys of general magazines. They read like "Where to Sell Manuscripts" in *The Writer*.

JOHN PECK
Editor
Farrar, Straus & Company
New York

"Streak of vulgarity"

TO THE REVIEW:

Bless Penn Kimball for his excellent study of *Esquire* in your fall issue. When it appeared, I intended to drop you a note of praise; having just reread it, I can no longer postpone my good intentions. It was an excellent study of an excellent magazine, and it gave proper recognition to Arnold Gingrich, who for my money is one of the truly great editors of the twentieth century.

From time to time, Mr. Gingrich has tried to explain his secret of editing. It has consisted of giving his readers their money's worth, he has said, and of never letting the reader know what to expect on the next page or in the next issue.

Last spring, emboldened by a dram of Glenlivet, I told him that I thought I could spot one of his magazines in even a dimly lit room because his editorial touch is as distinctive as a thumbprint. His signature, I added, is a heavy load of excellence with a fine streak of vulgarity. It was in his original *Esquire*, which alongside some classic prose had all of those undressed babes and all of that smoking-car humor. It was in his original *Coronet*, which alongside reproductions of art treasures and other "infinite riches in a little room" carried full-page, unfunny cartoons in color. It was in his *Ken*, which alongside some perceptive political analysis ran such things as a picture sequence of a man dying of rabies. It is there in his current *Esquire*, although in subdued and subtle fashion. Instead of being affronted, he was intrigued. What I had been saying, he remarked, was the theme of a novel he had once written.

Well, not long ago I tracked down a copy of *Cast Down the Laurel*, which Knopf published in 1935. And there, summarized on the last couple of pages of that story of a musician, was the theme he had recalled: "He was a failure because his art, like pure platinum, was too fine for commercial coinage, too rare for general circulation. His was the misfortune to be completely first rate. He lacked that leaven of mediocrity which makes artists and their audiences kin. You can fail by being too fine as easily as by being too coarse. The golden norm has an important content of alloy . . . The golden norm is the thing to cherish—that's the whole point of his story, really."

Just what the significance of all this is, I have no idea. I offer it only as a footnote to Penn Kimball's perceptive study.

THEODORE PETERSON
Dean
College of Journalism
and Communications
University of Illinois

Fair at Falcon Heights

TO THE REVIEW:

Referring to Wilbur G. Lewis's article on the prevalence, prevalence, or prevalence of error, winter, 1965: He uses as an apparent example of frequent error, this sentence: "The Minneapolis State Fair doesn't exist. It is the Minnesota State Fair in St. Paul."

Actually, the Minnesota State Fair has nothing to do with St. Paul. It's in Falcon Heights, an incorporated village.

IRV LETOFSKY
Assistant city editor
The Minneapolis Tribune

MR. LEWIS REPLIES: If the Minnesota State Fair is in suburban Falcon Heights (as we know now it is) and not in St. Paul, then 10,000 posters, stickers, periodical advertisements, and *The World Almanac* are likewise wrong.

The same probably is true of a

fair percentage of the population of the Twin Cities, few of whom are so accurately informed as Mr. Letofsky is as a newspaperman. Another correspondent who corrected my report wrote that "only two years ago a veteran St. Paul city councilman found out for the first time where the fairgrounds were located." Even the *Encyclopedia Britannica* skirts any mention of Falcon Heights, merely describing the site as a vast acreage "owned by the state and surrounded by the city on three sides."

Since the fair's main gate fronts on North Snelling Avenue, a visitor could accurately assume him-

self to be in St. Paul unless he should choose to try entrance on the fourth side.

The Twin Cities never were noted for united enthusiasm until their interests were welded by the arrival of the Minnesota Twins. As a fellow newspaperman, I do not accuse Mr. Letofsky of partiality and I accept his correction with good grace and attitude. In other breasts, however, mild panic is known to have stirred whenever a resident of either city has found the other with a claim to fame.

There is a Minneapolis (and may there always be one) but there is no Minneapolis State Fair.

Letters to the editor (never received)

The following appeared in the column, "Writer's Cramp," by Dick Nolan in the San Francisco Examiner of February 16, 1965:

I have been a charter subscriber to the *Columbia Journalism Review*, which is published quarterly by the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism.

The *Review* epitomizes just about everything that is wrong with the professor-made profession.

What it reflects is to journalism as the schools of education are to teaching. Magnificent exposition of the obvious; runaway escalation of the trivial. Like those on *Sandbox II*.

The current issue of the *Review* does a "Sandbox II" depth study on the *Reader's Digest*.

The professor who did the study concluded that the *Reader's Digest* is a conservative magazine.

We are told how many times the *Digest* has criticized the Social Security system (five), unemployment compensation abuses (five), Medicare (three).

"The *Digest* attitude toward labor unions is hard to determine statistically," says the professor.

Oh, hell.

In another piece, the comic

strips of six New York newspapers were analyzed, in a review covering the period from 1957 through 1963.

The professorial statistics method was used to demonstrate that "cold war comics" are "defending and promoting an American point of view that is jingoistic, often highly belligerent, and meant to be taken seriously."

Little Orphan Annie is a fink.

Another professor wrote how "kakalogic hypnosis" leads to errors like spelling "pantomime" with an "n" — "pantomine."

A person kakalogically hypnotized, it turns out, is a lousy speller because he doesn't spell well but THINKS he does.

A solemn tabular analysis displays what news stories were featured by a selected list of publications from October 29 to November 4.

I suspect it all goes back to the medical schools and the envious regard in which physicians are held. No physician has to prove he is a professional man. But teachers do, and new breed journalists do, and it's all a pack of nonsense.

EDITORS' REPLY: At least he reached page 48.

the lower case

Mixed emotions

Sound Stage, a movie magazine, devoted two lines on its cover and seven pages like the one below to extolling "John Goldfarb, Please Come Home!" the film Notre Dame tried to block.



But seven pages of publicity do not an endorsement make. Twenty pages farther on, its anonymous reviewer wrote:

The film last one they had with Shirley, *What a Way to Go*, was so bad I thought no one could top it—but it goes to show you if you try... try... try. This film is an insult to American astronauts, the U.S. State Department, the Notre Dame team, the Jews and the Arabs, and especially the audience.

Trapped

"Want the facts? Want to spike rumors?" asks Parade magazine at the top of its column, "Personality Parade." On January 10, the item below appeared:



Q. Is it true that John Wayne was recently operated on for cancer of the lung and the whole thing was kept secret?—Pam Ellesson, Phoenix, Ariz.

A. A small benign tumor was removed from his lung. No secret was made of it.

JOHN WAYNE TELLS OF CANCER SURGERY

HOLLYWOOD, Dec. 29 (AP)—John Wayne said today that his recent hospital stay was for removal of "cancer of the lung—and I've licked it."

Unfortunately, the story shown at left had broken nearly two weeks before—after Parade had gone to press.

Whom bites magazine

The New Yorker, which for years has sniffed at incorrect uses of "whom," was at last itself the victim in a short story, "Them Apples," by Gilbert Rogin, in the issue of December 19, 1964:

Hewlett felt threatened and vulnerable, as though Furies whom he thought had abandoned the chase were back on his tail. He mewed with a in

Fractures

A staff member at the San Diego papers writes that the computer that divides the papers' lines of type doesn't always split words with human skill. Examples from San Diego Union, April 16:

Council here marked a milestone in city history.

ry, three waves of South Vietnamese air force Skyraiders

Nationalist intelligence sources say the Communists have

converting their U.S. securities into dollars, which, in turn

ble. She had developed nodules (I call them bunions) on

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Guilt by propinquity

Early in 1965, the Chicago Tribune joined in a campaign to have James Baldwin's book, *Another Country*, removed from reading lists at a Chicago junior college. On January 22, it used the juxtaposition at right to make its point.

CITIZEN GROUP AGAINST USE OF BALDWIN BOOK

Would Give Students the Option

Edward Rekruciak, executive director of the Chicago chapter of the Citizens for Decent Literature and Movies, said yesterday he doubts, the wisdom of using the novel "Another Country" on a required reading list at Wright Junior college.

He said the real question is "whether parents have the right and duty to see to it the school ar-

BALDWIN POPULAR IN RUSSIA

James Baldwin is one of the six or seven most popular contemporary American writers in the Soviet Union, four visiting Russian authors and critics said yesterday. But his controversial novel, "Another Country," has not been read by the board that selects foreign literature for the Soviet public.

"I have not read the book, and, therefore, cannot comment on it," said Madame Tatiana A. Kudryavtseva, head of the European and American department of Inostrannia Literatura [Foreign Literature] magazine. She told a group of Northwestern university students meeting in the Chi Omega

lous, vile, and revolting words and expressions."

Rekruciak scribbled

house on the Evanston campus that Baldwin ranks in popularity in the Soviet Union only after Hemingway, Salinger, Steinbeck, Caldwell, and Faulkner. She ordered the translation into Russian of Baldwin's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie."

Accompanying Madame Kudryavtseva were Boris S. Ryurikov, editor-in-chief of the magazine; Yurii Vasilovich Bondarev, one of the young "liberal" Soviet novelists and Yurii Oliferovich Zbanatsky, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' union.

More Strikes in 1965

ROME, Jan. 21 (UPI)—

of Italy's big

labor

More

ALSOP'S TIPS GOOD

The Commercial Appeal

Reading Aesop's fables has pretty largely gone out of style. In fact it may be that no one reads them these days. For all that, however, many of the old master's tips are still good. There was the lady in Florida, for instance, who scorned an offer of \$350,000 as a settlement from the husband she was divorcing. She took the case to court and

Names

The item at left appeared on the editorial page of the Montgomery Advertiser for March 16—on the same page as a column by Joseph Aesop. The startling headline at right, from The New York Times of March 30, referred, not to the fair's panjandrum, Robert, but to the original Moses.

STATUE OF MOSES REJECTED AT FAIR

American-Israel Pavilion Feels German Work Has a Simian Appearance

De-emphasis

It was page-one news in many newspapers, but the newsletter issued over the name of Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, gave it a bottom-of-the-page position:

EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS. John A. Schneider has been elected a Director and Vice President of CBS and appointed President of the CBS Television Network. Jack joined CBS in 1950. In 1959 he was appointed a Vice President of CTS and General Manager of WCAU-TV. Last year he became General Manager of WCBS-TV. He brings good credentials to one of the most demanding jobs in the communications field.

Nor did the newsletter mention by name the man whom Schneider had succeeded — one James T. Aubrey.

WHY A REVIEW OF JOURNALISM?

What journalism needs, it has been said time and again, is more and better criticism. There have been abundant proposals for professional study panels, for institutes with squads of researchers, for critical journals.

Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism has decided to attempt such a journal. Two considerations brought about the decision: First, the need, magnified in a critical era like this, for some effort to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and its strengths, and to help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible service. Second, the obligation that falls on a serious professional school—a graduate institution, national in character—to help stimulate continuing improvement in its profession and to speak out for what it considers right, fair, and decent.

Columbia's Faculty of Journalism cannot pretend to Olympian qualifications. It does combine the detachment needed to be reasonably impartial with the professional experience needed to sense what is possible and what is not. It can also draw upon the vast experience of its part-time teaching staff and its alumni, as well as upon the growing number of alert, inquiring minds within journalism and informed critics from outside.

All the proposals for organized criticism—whatever their intent or merit—point to one conclusion: that there exists, in and out of the profession, a widespread uneasiness about the state of journalism. The School shares this uneasiness, not over any supposed deterioration but over the probability that journalism is not yet a match for the complications of our age. It believes that the urgent arguments for a critical journal far outweigh the hazards.

In launching this experiment, the School has set for the *Review* these goals:

- ¶ To deal forthrightly with what it finds to be deficient or irresponsible and to salute what it finds to be responsible, fair, and professional.
- ¶ To discuss all the means that carry news to the public, thus viewing the field whole, without the customary partitions.
- ¶ To provide a meeting ground for thoughtful discussion of journalism, both by its practitioners and by observers, to encourage debate, and to provide ample space for dissent.
- ¶ To attempt systematic studies of major problems in journalism, drawing not only upon published sources but upon new research and upon correspondents here and abroad, including many of the School's alumni active in the profession.
- ¶ To recognize that others (like *Nieman Reports*, *Journalism Quarterly*, the *Saturday Review* and, in some ways, trade publications like *Editor & Publisher* and *Broadcasting*) have been doing part of the job and to acknowledge their work in the *Review's* pages.

As a division of a large private university and as an institution that has mediated between the academic world and journalism for nearly fifty years, the School is committed to no single interest beyond its belief in good journalism and graduate education for journalism. The School has tried to prepare more than 2,500 graduates for careers in journalism. Now it believes it is time to try to assess the field they have entered.

No single issue of this publication will satisfy all the editors' standards—least of all this first pilot effort. But the *Review* will try to emulate all sincere journalism by coming as near the whole truth as possible.

(From the pilot issue, Columbia Journalism Review, September, 1961)

